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A
RELATION
OF THE
Invasion and Conquest
OF
FLORIDA
BY THE
SPANIARDS,

Under the Command of
FERNANDO de SOTO.

Written in *Portuguese* by a Gentleman
of the Town of *ELVAS*.

Now ENGLISHED.

To which is Subjoyned Two Journeys of the
present Emperour of *CHINA* into *Tartary*
in the Years 1682, and 1683.

With some Discoveries made by the *Spaniards* in
the Island of *CALIFORNIA*, in the Year 1683.

London: Printed for *John Lawrence*, at the *Angel* in the *Poultry*
over against the *Compter*. 1686.

THE
OF THE
AND CONDUCT
OF
FLORIDA
WITH
SPANIARDS

THE PREFACE.

IT is not without reason that men admire those first Conquerours, who boldly ventured their Lives to discover to us a New World ; and the Obligation that Mankind has to them upon that account, is acknowledged on all hands. We owe no less, however, to those who have taken the pains to preserve the memory of their Conquests ; and without exposing us to the fatigues and dangers, which those great men so bravely surmounted, make us by their Writings relish that pure and unalloyed pleasure wherewith the first discovery of things commonly tickles and flatters the Imagination , no less for their Novelty than Renown. Now this being a pleasure mingled with a great deal

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of instruction, since according to these Models men are to take their measure for the like Enterprizes, it must be granted that the publick cannot have too many Histories of Expeditions of that nature. This is apparent enough by the many Relations of the Conquest of *Peru* and *New-Spain*, which have been all generally approved of abroad: For according to the diversity of humours, men see things curiously, and give the publick the view they have had of them. Some love Fights and Battels, and describe them very well in general; others who are pleased with the same subject, apply themselves to the relation of singular Actions: One man makes it his business to write the Natural History of the Plants and Animals of a Country; another again, the Customs and Inclinations of the Inhabitants. In a word, it may be said that this diversity of humours produces different Relations, which serve reciprocally as Commentaries one for another; and

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and from whence the Curious who read
with discretion, draw the compleat
knowledge of the History of a Country
or Nation. The truth is, there are not
so many Relations extant of *Florida*
(which is the name the *Spaniards* gave
to all that part of *America*, that lies to
the Northward of *Mexico* or *New-Spain*,
before the English and other Nations set-
tled Plantations there) as there is of *Pernu*
and *New-Spain*: however, they are no
less curious, especially this Relation now
published, which has the preference in
Spain not onely for its Rarity, but for
the Merit of its Author also. As to its
Rarity, there was but one Manuscript of
it in *Spain*, which was taken out of the
Library of the Duke of *Sessa* to be prin-
ted, and but few Copies of the Impres-
sion in any other Country besides. It
hath the advantage to be an Original, and
to come from the first hand, whereas
that of the *Ynca Garcillasso de la Vega*,
came abroad but since; and how pom-

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pous soever it may appear in Language, co
has no greater Authority than the bare He
Report of a private Trooper, and by me
consequent cannot be compared to this; ca
since the Trooper who served *Fernando* ha
de Soto in that Expedition, might for th
want of good intelligence have in many re
things been mistaken, as well as *Garcil-* w
lasso, for want of memory and applica- m
tion. vo

The truth of this seems more than ha
probable, seeing *Garcillasso* in the begin- hi
ning of his *Florida*, affirms confidently ta
that *Soto* went thither accompanied with th
thirteen hundred men, whereas our Au- is
thor says, and that upon better ground, is
that he had but six hundred; whereup- hi
on it is to be observed, that a Gentle- w
man, as he was, hath commonly more w
knowledge and a greater respect for w
Truth, than a private Souldier. The w
Title of the Relation informs us, that o
our Author was a *Portuguese* Gentleman T
of the Town of *Elvas*, and that he ac- w

com-

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ge, accompanied *Soto* in all that Expedition.
are He is certainly one of those who are named in the second Chapter, though he cannot be particularly known, since he has been unwilling to name or any other way distinguish himself from the rest; and that instance of a modesty which is not to be found but amongst men of the best breeding, is a very good voucher for his sincerity. It is very probable that his Birth and Quality made him to be admitted into the most important Councils and Deliberations; and the particular account he gives of them, is sufficient to confirm this Opinion. It is not at all to be doubted then, but that his Information was good; and they who take the pains to examine his Book, will be convinced of it by his way of writing. His stile is natural, plain, and without any Ornaments, such as the stile of a Discourse ought to be, which hath Truth onely for its object. He never wanders from his subject into useless digress-

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gressions, as *Garcillasso de la Vega* doth make, who seems to have had no other scope, but to relate the Exploits of *Gonsales Ex Sylvester*, whom, in a manner, he makes all the Heroe of his Romance; and who, nevertheless, is not so much as named by our Author. In short, he engages now farther in descriptions than is necessary to illustrate what is fit to be known; and his therefore he hath referred to the end of the Book, all that he says concerning the Nature of the Country, and its Inhabitants.

As to the Discovery, he traces it with so much exactness and perspicuity, that nothing can be compleater in its kind; nor is he less happy in his manner of describing to us the two Generals, *Soto* and *Moscoso*, when it comes in his way; wherein without giving himself the trouble of drawing their Pictures like an Author of Romance, he paints them out with such lively touches, as visibly shew us the Qualities of their Persons and Inclinations.

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h nations. He lays open so plainly the
reasons that moved *Soto* to pursue that
Expedition, contrary to the Opinions of
all that were with him, and the motives
which obliged *Moscoso* to quit the design,
by notwithstanding the opposition he met
with ; that the Judgment of the Au-
thor is therein no less remarkable than
his Integrity. So that this History is
not then to be considered barely as a
curious piece, but as a Work that may
afford good instructions for the conduct
of those who undertake the like Expedi-
tions , and for the knowledge of the
Countries that border upon, or may be
useful to the English Plantations on that
Continent, which perhaps have never
been heard of as yet by those who only
inhabit the Coast.

A
T A B L E
OF THE
C H A P T E R S
Contained in this BOOK.

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to the Havana, whither he with the rest of his men go by land.

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Ship
to
Chap. XI. *The General comes to Caliquen, and carries the Cacique thereof to Napetaca with him: The Indians are resolved to take him from him by force; many are killed upon that occasion.*

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E R R A T A.

PAge 2. line 22. read Officers. p. 23. l. 10. r. Danhusco. p. 2 l. 10. r. Narvaez. p. 50. l. 10. r. Tupaba. p. 90. l. 14. r. thru p. 112. l. ult. r. tell. p. 122. l. 5. r. Pacaba. p. 151. l. 23. r. th was. p. 193. l. 26. their two p. 225. l. 16. r. Mandarin, and throughout. p. 227. l. ult. r. By what. p. 242. l. 7. r. thirtieth year of his Age. p. 265. l. 3. r. Fort. p. 2. l. 11. r. an hundred and fourscore thousand.



A
RELATION
OF THE
Invasion and Conquest
OF
FLORIDA.

CHAP. I.

*The Birth of Don Fernando de Soto, and
how he obtained the Government of
Florida.*

Captain *Fernando de Soto* was the Son
of an ordinary Gentleman of *Xeres
de Badajos*, and went to the *Indies*
that are subject to the Crown of *Ca-
stille*, when *Pedrarias d'Avila* was
Governour of them. All the Estate *Soto* then
had, was no more but a Sword and Buckler;

B

never

nevertheless, his Merit and Valour obliged *Pedra-*
rias to give him the Command of a Troop of
 Horse, and to send him with *Ferdinand* or
Francis Pizarre to the Conquest of *Peru*. - He ren-
 dered himself very remarkable in that Expedition, pla-
 not onely in the taking of *Atabalipa*, King of
Peru, but also of *Cusco*, and in all occasions where
 Honour was to be gained. He got there also a
 great deal of Wealth, and had so good a share in
 the Treasure of *Atabalipa*, that in a short time
 he made a hundred and fourscore Crowns of Gold,
 of the pieces that fell to his Dividend. He brought
 them into *Spain*, where the Emperour took part
 of them, which he payed with three score thou-
 sand Reals, to be raised out of the Customs of the
 Silks of *Granada*. The rest was remitted him by
 the Chamber of *Seville*, established for the pay-
 ment of the Kings Duties, which they call *La Casa*
de contratacion. *Soto* then put himself into ma-
 gnificent Equipage, and entertained a Steward,
 a Majordomo, Pages, a Gentleman of the Horse,
 Lackeys, and all the other Offices of a great
 Lord. In this state he came to Court, accom-
 panied with *John d'Anusco* of *Seville*, *Louis Mos-*
coso Alvarado, *Nunho Tovar*, and *John Rodriguez Lo-*
bilho: All these Gentlemen, except *John d'Anusco*, had
 came with him from *Peru*, where they had got
 fourteen or fifteen thousand Crowns of Gold a
 piece: They were magnificent in Cloaths, Horses, wra-
 and Arms, because *Soto* upon his first appearing at
 Court

Court, resolved to make himself be taken notice of by a sumptuous expence, though otherwise he had no inclination to Liberality. The Gentlemen whom I have named, attended him in all places, besides his Servants, and some others who followed his Fortune. At that time he made love to *Isabella de Bodavilla*, Daughter to *Pedrarias* and *Avila* Count of *Punho* in *Rostro*; and being married to her, the Emperour gave him the Government of the Isle of *Cuba*, with the Title of General of *Florida*, and Marquess of the Lands which he might Conquer.

CHAP. II.

Cabesa de Vaca comes to the Court of Spain, with a Relation of Florida. The Assembly held at Seville, for the Conquest of that Country.

*S*oto being thus appointed Governour and General, a Gentleman named *Cabesa de Vaca*, came from the *Indies* to the Court of *Spain*. He had accompanied *Narvaez* in the Expedition of *Florida*, and gave an account of the loss of that Governour and of all his men, who were shipwreckt, he with three others onely having escaped upon the Coasts of *New-Spain*. *Cabesa*

brought with him a relation of what he had seen in *Florida*, and it was written in such a manner, that in some places he said, *I have seen this, and more also, which I reserve to be declared to his Majesty*. He enlarged much upon the misery of the Country, and the fatigues that he had endured : But when some of his Relations, who had a design to go to the *Indies*, pressed him to tell them, if he had found any Riches in *Florida* ; he made them answer that he would not satisfy them as to that, because he resolved to return into that Country with *Orantes*, one of his Companions, whom he had left behind in *New-Spain* : That he was come on design to beg that Government of the Emperour ; and that they had taken an Oath not to discover what they had seen, lest they might be prevented in their design of obtaining that favour of his Majesty. That made it be believed that *Florida* was one of the richest Countries in the World. *Fernando de Soto* had a design to engage *Cabesa* with him, and offered him considerable advantages ; but after their agreement made, they clashed, upon account that *Soto* had refused him some money to buy a Ship with. In the mean time, *Balthazar de Gallegos*, and *Christopher d'Espindola*, *Cabesa's* kinsmen, being resolved to go with *Soto* to *Florida*, one day prayed their Cousin to advise them what they had best to do? to which he answered, that if he followed not *Soto*, it was because he was in hopes of obtaining

obtaining another Government, and that he would not march under the Command of another: That his intention was to have beg'd the Government of *Florida*, but that *Soto* being already provided to it, the Oath he had taken hindred him from discovering what they desir'd to learn of him. However, that he counsell'd them to sell their Estates and follow *Soto*, that they would have no cause to repent of the design. At length *Cabesa* had Audience of the Emperour, whom he fully informed of what had hapned in the Expedition of *Narvaez*; so that the Marquess *d' Astorga*, who knew the particulars of that Audience, resolv'd to send with *Soto* his own Brother Don *Antonio Osorio*, who was accompanied with two kinsmen, *Francis* and *Garcias Osorio*. Don *Antonio* disposed of sixty thousand Reals a year which he had in Benefices, and *Francis Osorio* sold a Mannor of which several Gentlemen held: Having done so, they went to the General at *Seville*, where he was, attended by *Nunbo*, *Touar*, *Louis Moscoso*, and *John Rodrigues Lobillo*, who had engaged for that Expedition all the profit they had made in *Peru*. *Moscoso* carried with him two Brothers also; and that Company was encreased by the coming of Don *Carlos*, who had married a Cousin of the Governours: He carried the Lady along with him; and his example brought from *Badajos*, *Peter Calderano*, with three of the Generals kinsmen, *Ayres Tinoco*, *Alonso Romo*, and *Diego Tinoco*. *Soto*

came to *Elvas*, where *Andrew de Vasconcelos* had, occasion to discourse *Moscoso*. He prayed him to speak to *Don Fernando de Soto*, and to shew him the Commission he had from the Marquess of *Villareal*, for the Captains place of *Ceita*: The General having seen it, wrote to *Vasconcelos*, that he might expect all favour from him, and that he would give him an honourable Employment in *Florida*. So *Vasconcelos* engaged to follow him with *Fernando Pegado*, *Antonio Martinez Segura*, *Rois Pereyra*, *John Cordeiro*, *Stephen Pegado*, *Benet* and *Alvaro Fernandez*, all Portuguese of the City of *Elvas*. This gave so much reputation to the Enterprize, that a great many Gentlemen came to *Seville* from *Salamanca*, *Jaen*, *Albuquerque*, and other Towns of *Spain*; so that many honest men, who had sold their Estates in prospect of this Voyage, were left behind at *St. Lucar*; and the reason was, because ships were wanting for transportation of men; which are many times wanting to go into Countries even whereof the Riches is known. The Conferences that *Cabeza* had had with the Emperour, and other Persons of Quality produced this effect. But though *Soto* endeavoured again to engage him into his Interests by very advantageous offers, he still refused them; and at length obtained from the Emperour the Government of *Rio de Plata*, which yet hindered not his two kinsmen *Espindola* and *Gallegos*, from sticking to *Soto*. *Gallegos* sold his House,

hads, Vineyards, and Corn-land, besides fourscore
n tend ten Acres of ground planted with Olive-
himrees, in the Territory of *Seville*. He had the
s on charge of Serjeant-Major, and carried his Wife
The with him. Many other Cavaliers of Quality fol-
tha owed *Soto*, and obtained considerable Places from
t him, to the disappointment of several Competitors
t in that earnestly desired them. So *Antonio Viedma*
him had the Office of *Intendant*, *John d'Anbusco* was
made *Comptroller*, and *John Gaytan*, Cousin to the
Ben Cardinal of *Ciguenca*, *Treasurer*.

CHAP. III.

The Portuguese go to *Seville*, and from
thence to *St. Lucar*. Captains are named
for the Ships and Souldiers, who were
to make the Voyage.

V *Asconcelos*, and the other Portuguese Gentle-
men, parted from *Elvas* the 15th of *Ja-*
notuary, and arrived at *Seville* on *St. Sebastian's*
nte Eve. These Cavaliers went to the General's
sed Lodgings, and as they entred his Court, *Soto* per-
ceived them out of a Gallery where he was, and
ye immediately came down to receive them at the
lle foot of the stairs which led up into that Gallery.
ou When they were come up, he caused Chairs to

be set for them all : Then *Vasconcelos* told him that he was come with these Portuguese Gentle men, to offer him their Company and Service in the Voyage he had undertaken : For which *Soto* thanked them, testifying a great deal of joy and satisfaction at their arrival, and for their obliging Offers. Seeing the Cloath was already laid, he invited them to sup with him ; and during Supper-time, he ordered his Steward to find out Lodgings for them near his own. The Governour, with all those who were to accompany him, went from *Seville* to *St. Lucar* , where he resolved to Muster his Men. The Portuguese appeared there in the Equipage of Souldiers, in neat Armour, and the Castillians gallantly apparelled in Doublets and Cassocks of Silk pinckt and embroidered : But that unseasonable gallantry did not please the General ; and therefore he appointed another review, where all should appear in Armour. The Portuguese appeared again very well armed , and the General placed them near his Standard, carried by his Ensign, whereas the Castillians for the most part had no more but old rusty Coats of Mail, and all Head-pieces with Spears or naughty Lances. Some endeavoured to pass Muster with the Portuguese ; and as they filed off, they were all reckoned one by one, according as *Soto* had ordered , and set down in a Roll to the number of six hundred men , who went with him to *Florida*. The General bought

seven

seven Ships well provided with all sort of Ammunition, and well Rigg'd: He named the Captains, and gave to each a List of the men they were to take on Board.

CHAP. IV.

The General parts from Spain: He arrives at the Canaries, and from thence at the Antilles.

IN the Month of *April*, 1538. the General assigned Ships to the several Captains, who were to Command them: For himself he chose one that was newly built, and an excellent Sailer: He gave another to *Vasconcelos* for the Portuguese who had followed him. And so they set sail from the Road of *St. Lucar*, on *St. Lazarus's* Sunday-morning, in the Month of *April*, with extream satisfaction of all the Fleet, sound of Trumpets, and discharges of Artillery. After four days sailing with a fair Wind, they were becalmed, and met with Tides from the *Levant*, that hindred them for eight days from making any way; at length the Wind freshned again, and they arrived at *Gomere*, one of the *Canary* Islands, on *Palm-Sunday-Morning*; fifteen days after they set out from *St. Lucar*. The Lord of that

that Island, who bears the Title of Count, was clothed in white from head to foot, Hat, Cloak Doublet, Breeches, and Shooes; so that he looked like a Captain of *Bohemians*: He joyfully received our General, and provided him with a very good Lodging: All the Cavaliers of the Fleet were also very well received and lodged, and for their Money, had what refreshments they stood in need of, as Bread, Wine, Meat, and all that was wanting in the Equipage of the Ships. In fine the Count gave one of his natural Daughters to Dona *Isabella* the General's Lady, to serve her in quality of a Waiting-Maid. Sunday following the Fleet parted from *Gomere*, having staid there but just eight days, and came to the *Antilles* on *Whit-sunday*, where it entred the Port of *St. Jago*, in the Island of *Cuba*. When the Governour came on shoar, he found a handsome Horse richly furnished, which a Gentleman of the Town had sent him, with a Mule for Dona *Isabella*, and all the *Burghers*, some on foot, some on horse-back, who came to receive him at the Port. They waited on him to his Lodgings, which were very commodious, where he was visited by all the chief Inhabitants, who came to offer him their Services. All the Officers and Souldiers were lodged, and they who had a mind to go out of the Town, were received and well treated in Country-Houses, where their Landlords did what lay in their power to provide all sorts of refreshment for them.

CHAP. V.

Of the Inhabitants of the Town of St. Jago, and other Villages of the Island of Cuba : Of the quality of the ground, and the Fruits it produces.

THe Town of St. Jago contains fourscore large Houses, commodious for Lodging, though most part of them be built but of boards and mereatched ; some are built of stone and lime, and whitewashed with tile. The Inhabitants have large Gardens, where there are many Trees far different from those of *Spain*; there are some that bear Figs as big as ones fist, but bitter and unsavoury. They have a Fruit there which they call the *Ananas*, of the shape and bigness of a Pine-apple, which hath a very good taste : In the fields there are other fruits of the same figure, but much bigger, that grow upon very low trees, or rather in shrubs, and resemble those other Fruits which have a very pleasant smell and agreeable taste : and Other Trees bear a fruit called *Mamejas*, of the bigness of a Quince, which the Inhabitants prefer before all others. There are also *Guavers* here as big as Figs, and shaped like a Filbeard : but the most extraordinary Tree they have, is about

bout the height of a Lance, with one single stem and no branches ; its leaves are of the length of the head of a Pike, and its fruit of the figure and bigness of a Cucumber ; they grow in clusters of twenty or thirty at a time ; according as the fruit ripens, the tree bends with it : This fruit is called *Bananas*, has an excellent good taste, and ripens after it is gathered ; but those that ripen on the tree are the best. These trees never bear but once, for then they are cut down, and another sprouts from the stock, which the year following yields fruit. There is also another kind of fruit of great use for many of the Inhabitants, and especially for the Slaves, and these are Potato's, which grow also in the *Terceras* depending on the Kingdom of *Portugal* ; they grow in the Earth, and resemble Chestnuts in taste. The Bread of that Island is made of Roots also, like to Potato's : The Timber that grows from these Roots, comes near to that of the Elder-tree. They make little beds of Earth, and in each of them plant five or six sprigs ; the Roots whereof are not pluckt up till eighteen Months after. If any one mistaking them for Potato's, which they resemble, do but eat the least bit of them, it will endanger his life, and this experience made out upon a Souldier who died upon the spot, though he had but hardly tasted of them. These Roots are prepared by rasping them ; and the raspings being pressed and separated from the juyce, which is mortal, and

hath

hath a strong smell, there remains a dry flour ; but the Bread that's made of it hath but very little taste, and far less substance. As to the fruits of *Spain*, they have Fig-trees, and Orange-trees, which bear all the year round, because of the heat, and the fertility of the Soil. This Island breeds a great many Horses, and store of Cattel, which never want green grass : It hath abundance of Cows and wild Hogs also ; so that the Inhabitants are in no want of meat for food ; nor of Fruit of several sorts, which grow wild in the Woods and Fields ; insomuch, that *Spaniards* who have wandred in the Woods for a fortnight together, because of the different tracts which the wild Cows make in the Forests, have had nothing to live on but these fruits, and the Marrow which grows in the heart of a kind of Palm-tree, that abound all over the Island, and bears no other fruit. The Island of *Cuba* is three hundred Leagues in length from East to West, and thirty or forty in some places over from North to South : There are in it six Towns of Christian Habitations, *St. Jago*, *Baracoa*, *Bayamo*, *Princes Port*, the *Holy Ghost*, and the *Havana* ; each of these little Towns contain thirty or forty Families, but *St. Jago* and the *Havana*, have at least threescore and ten or fourscore houses a piece : Every Town hath a Church, and a Priest to Administer the Sacraments ; besides, there is a Convent of Cordeliers at *St. Jago*, where though there

there be but a few Friars, yet they have good store of Charity, by reason of the riches of the Country; nay, the Church of St. *Jago* hath also good Revenues, and is served by a Curate, some Beneficiaries, and several Clerks, as being the Parish of the Capital Town. There is a great deal of Gold in this Island, but few Slaves, because many have hanged themselves to be rid of the miseries that they were forced to suffer in the Mines. An Overseer belonging to *Vasco Porcalho*, who was one of the chief Inhabitants, knowing that the *Indians* under his charge had resolved to go hang themselves, went and staid for them at the place where they intended to put this dismal resolution into execution, with a Rope in his hand; he told them that they must not imagine that any of their designs were hid from him, and that he was come to hang himself with them, that he might torment them in the other world, an hundred times more than he had done in this. This discourse made them quit the resolution which they had taken, and came back with him ready to do whatever he should command them.

CHAP. VI.

The Governour sends his Wife and Ships to the Havana, whither he with the rest of his men go by Land.

FROM St. Jago the Governour sent his Cousin Don Carlos, to wait on Dona Isabella on ship-board, to the *Havana*, which is a Port at the head of the Island on the North-West-side, distant from St. Jago an hundred and fourscore Leagues: As for himself, having bought Horses, as all the rest of his company did, he resolved to go by Land. The first habitation they found was *Bayamo*, where his men were well received, and lodged four and four, or six and six together, according as they had associated themselves: They had all charges born, except for the *Maiz* which they gave their Horses; and that also, because *Soto* in visiting that Country, imposed some Duties upon the Tribute and Services which they drew from the *Indians*. *Bayamo* is twenty five Leagues from St. Jago, and near it runs a great River called *Tanto*, larger than the *Guadiana*; it feeds great and furious Crocodiles, that sometime carry away the *Indians* that venture to foard it over: These are the most dangerous Animals of the Island;

for

for it breeds neither Wolves, Foxes, Bears, Lyons, nor Tygers. There are indeed wild Dogs there which run away from the Houses into the Woods, where they live upon wild Hogs. There are Snakes also bigger than a mans thigh, but very unwildy and harmless. From *Bayamo* to *Princes Port* they reckon fifty Leagues of way cleared with a great deal of labour and care; and which when it is not kept clear, fills so full of bushes, that no tract appears; so that it is impossible to travel it without *Indian* guides, because of the paths which the Cows make in several parts. The Governour took a Canoe at *Princes Port* to go by Sea to the habitation of *Vasco Porcalbo*, and to learn news of his Wife, who at that time was in extream danger, (as was found afterwards) for her Ships were scattered in a furious Storm, so that two of them were driven in sight of the Coast of *Florida*, and all put into great streights for want of fresh water and provisions. When the storm was over, they gathered together again, and made Cape St. *Antonio* in a place of the Island of *Cuba*, which was not at all peopled: There they took in fresh water, and after forty days sailing from the time they set out from St. *Jago*, they arrived at the *Havana*: The Governour had intelligence of it, and immediately parted to go meet his Wife: They whom he left to the number of an hundred and fifty Horse, divided themselves into two bodies, that they might
not

not incommode the Inhabitants of the Island by Quartering. Their way was by the *Holy Ghost*, about sixty Leagues from *Princes Port*, and their Provision was the Cassadoe-bread that I mentioned, which dissolves in Broath so soon as it is put into it. So many of that Troop were reduced to eat flesh without bread. They had Dogs with them and an Huntsman of the Island; and when they came at night to their Quarters, they killed wild Hogs, proportionably to the number of men; for they had no want of Hogs and Cows during the whole march; but they were horribly tormented with Muskettoes, especially in a Marish which they call *La Cenega do Pia*: They spent from noon till night in passing that Marish with a great deal of pains; for it was at least half a League in length, and a good Bow-shot over, which was to be past swimming. In the rest there was water up to the middle, and mud to the knees; but the ground was so pestered with brambles and bushes which tore the feet, that neither boots nor shooes could hold out whole one half of the way. The Baggage and Saddles were conveyed over on rafts made of the bark of Palm-trees: These fatigues were encreased by the persecution of the Muskettoes, who rising in all parts of the Marish, fell upon the men that were stript; and so soon as they had prick'd in any place, a great knob presently swelled up with an intolerable itching; immediately the

hand went to the place, and scratched at so prodigious a rate, that the blood trickled down arms and legs like a little brook; so the whole night was spent without any repose, which hapned also in other places. From thence they went to the *Holy Ghost*, which is a little Town standing upon a Rivulet, containing about thirty Houses: It is a very pleasant and fertile place, abounding in Fruits both in those of the Country, and in excellent Oranges and Citrons. One half of the Governours Cavaliers lodged there, and the other advanced as far as the *Trinity*, which is another little Town twenty Leagues from this: in it there is an Hospital, the sole that's to be found in the Island; and that habitation is said to have been the best peopled of any in those quarters, and that before the Christians settled there, a ship which sailed along the Coast, left a man very sick on shoar, who had earnestly beg'd of the Captain to do him that kindness: The sick person lying there, was found by the *Indians*, who carried him away, and took so great care of him that he recovered, and married a Daughter of the Captain of these *Indians*. He was in War with all his Neighbours, whom he overcome by the skill and valour of that Christian, so that he became very powerful. Long after *Diego Velasquez* undertook the Conquest of that Island, from whence he went upon the discovery of *New-Spain*, after he had reduced under his Obedience all the *Indians* of
Cuba,

Cuba, by the assistance of that man who had a great deal of authority over them. There remains threescore Leagues from the *Trinity* to the *Havana*, and no habitation to be found in all the way ; at length all the Cavaliers arrived in this Town, where they found *Fernando de Soto* , and the rest who came from *Spain* with him ; from that place he sent *Danhusco* and fifty men , in a Caravel, and two Brigantines, to find out a Port on the Coast of *Florida*; who brought back with him two *Indians* whom he took on that Coast. This exceedingly rejoiced the Governour , not onely because these *Indians* were to serve for Guides and Interpreters, but also because by their signs they had given to understand , that there was a great deal of Gold in that Country : All the Fleet shared in his joy, and thought the hour of departure would never come, so fully were they possessed that *Florida* was the richest Country as yet discovered in the *Indies*.

CHAP. VII.

Our departure from the Havana , and our arrival in Florida.

BEfore our departure from the Port of the *Havana*, the Governour gave to *Vasco Porcalho*

de Figueroa the charge of Captain-General, which he had granted to *Nuno de Touar*. He preferred *Vasco* to that Office to reward him for the care he had taken in providing the Fleet with all things necessary ; and he deprived *Nuno* of it, because of an intrigue of love which he had managed with the Daughter of the Count of *Gomere*, Waiting-maid to *Dona Isabella*. *Nuno* durst not shew any resentment for the loss of his place ; on the contrary, seeing he thought it best to entertain the Governours favour , and that the Maid was with Child, he married her, and went with *Soto* into *Florida*. The Governour left *Dona Isabella* at the *Havana*, accompanied by the Wife of *Don Carlos*, and the Wives of *Gallegos* and *Touar* ; and appointed for his Lieutenant in the Island, a Gentleman of the *Havana*, called *John de Roias* : Having so ordered all matters, the General parted from the *Havana* with his Fleet , consisting of five Ships, two Caravels, and two Brigantines, on Sunday the Eighteenth of *May*, 1539. The weather being very fair, and the wind in poop, we discovered the Coast of *Florida* on *Whitsunday* the five and twentieth day of *May*, and came to an Anchor within a League of the shoar, because of the banks. Five days after the General put on shoar two hundred and thirteen Horse which he had, to the end that the Ships being lightned, they might draw less water. This descent was made within two Leagues of the habitation of an *Indian*
Lord,

Lord, named *Ucita*; then all the Army landed, and none remained on board but the Seamen, who advancing still by little and little with the Tides, came at length, in eight days time, to an Anchor near the habitation of the *Indians*. So soon as the Souldiers landed, they entrench- ed themselves on the Sea-shore, near the Bay that adjoynd the Village. After that, the Cap- tain General *Vasco Porcalho* took seven horse- men to go and discover the ground farther in a- bout half a League from the Camp; they met six *Indians*, who stood upon their defence with their Arrows, which are the Weapons they make use of in fighting; but the Horse-men rushing upon them, killed two, and the other four betook themselves to flight into a Marish full of bushes, where the Horses wearied, and, in a manner, sea- sick, stuck and fell down with their Riders. The night following the General with an hundred men in the Brigantines, attacked a Village, which he found abandoned, because the *Indians* had discovered the Christians so soon as they appear- ed upon the Coast, and had given the signal all over by fires and thick smoak. At break of day, *Louis de Moscoso* Camp-Master-General, drew the Army up in Battalia, and formed them into three bodies, the Van-guard, Main body, and Reer- guard, assigning a Squadron of Horse to every body. In this Order we marched that whole day and the next, and fetching a great compass

about the Marish which made that Bay, we came to the habitation of *Ucita* on *Trinity-Sunday* the first of *June* : that Village consisted of seven or eight Houses ; the Lords House was near the shoar, upon an eminence made purposely to serve for a Fortress ; the Temple was at the other end of the Village, where, over the entry-door there was a wooden-fowl with the eyes gilt ; and some Pearls were found in that place, but spoil'd and of small value ; for they pierce them in the fire, that they may thread them into Chains and Bracelets , which they carry about their necks and arms, and is the Ornament they most esteem. Their Houses were of Wood , covered with the leaves of Palm-trees. The General lodged in the Lord's house, with *Porcalho* and *Moscoso* ; the Sergeant-Major *Balthazar de Gallegos* took his quarters in the houses in the middle of the Village, where all the Provisions that were brought from the Vessels were laid up in store ; the rest of the houses and Temple were demolished , and the Souldiers made baraks of them, where they lodged three or four together. The Country about that Village was full of very thick bushes, which *Soto* caused to be cleared a Cross-bow-shot round, for the convenience of his Horse, and that the *Indians* also might not approach without being discovered, if they had a mind to fall upon him in the night-time. He placed double Sentinels at all the Avenues, and at other places of danger :
They

They were relieved every quarter of an hour ; the Horse visited them , and went upon the scout in a condition of fighting if any allarm hapned. In this place the General made Captains ; four of Horse, who were *Andrew de Vasconcelos*, *Peter Caldeiran* of *Badaios* , and his own two Cousins *Ayres Tinoco*, and *Alfonse Romo* ; and two of Foot, to wit, *Francis Maldonado* of *Salamanca*, and *John Rodriguez Lobillo*. Whilst we were still in that Post of *Ucita*, the two *Indians* whom *Don Husco* had taken upon that Coast, and whom the General designed for Guides and Interpreters, made their escape one night by the fault of those that had them in keeping ; the General and whole Camp were extreemly afflicted at that loss, because we had already made several inrodes without being able to take one *Indian* , by reason that the Country was fenny, and covered with very high and thick bushes.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Incurfions made into the Country , and how a Christian was found who for a long time had been in the Indians hands.

IN that place of *Ucita* the General commanded out *Balthazar de Gallegos* with forty Horse

and fourscore Foot , to enter into the Country, and try if he could take some *Indians*. *Lobilho* was also commanded to go out another way with fifty foot, most of which had no other arms but a Sword and Buckler, and the rest Harquebuses and Cross-bows. They marched by Marishes where the horses could not enter, and about half a League from the Camp they found some Cottages near a little River , into which the *Indians* threw themselves so soon as they perceived us : Four *Indian* women were taken , which obliged twenty *Indian* men to turn upon us, who pressed us so hard, that we were forced to retreat towards the Camp ; for these people are so dexterous, fierce, and nimble, that Foot can gain no advantage upon them. The reason is, because they fly when men march against them ; but so soon as ever the enemy retreat , they are at their heels. They never fly farther than out of reach of Arrow-shot, and when they advance towards the enemy, they are always in motion, running from one hand to the other , that they may not give aim to the Musqueteers and Cross-bow-men ; besides that, one *Indian* will shoot four Arrows, before a Cross-bow-man can make one discharge ; and they shoot so just, that seldom they miss. An Arrow that meets with no Armour, pierces as deep as a Cross-bow-shot. Their Bows are strong, and their Arrows of hard heavy Canes, so sharp, that they'll pierce a Buckler : Sometimes they head

head them with the bone of a fish as sharp as an awl ; others do it with a stone as hard as a Diamond : these many times pierce Armour when they light upon the joynts ; but those made of Canes, are the most dangerous, because they break or enter through the Coats of Mail. *Lobilho* returned to the Camp with six men wounded, of whom one died , and brought with him the four *Indian* women whom he had taken in the Cottages. As for *Gallegos*, about two Leagues from the Camp he found a plain, where he espied ten or eleven *Indians*, amongst whom there was a Christian stark naked, and all scorched with the Sun, having his arms painted with several colours after the manner of the *Indians*, from whom it was impossible to distinguish him. These *Indians* dispersed and fled, some threw themselves into a Wood, but two that were wounded were taken. A Horse-man run full tilt with his Lance against the Christian, who cried out, *Sirs, I am a Christian, do not kill me nor these poor men who have given me my life.* He called to the *Indians* to come, assuring them that they should have no hurt done them, so that they came out of the Wood. Thus the Horse-men having taken them all up behind them, returned to the Camp, where they were received with extream joy by all the Army, and many complements from the General.

CHAP. IX.

Who that Christian was : How he went into Florida ; and what he told the General.

THat man was born in *Seville* of a Noble Family, and called *John Ortiz* ; he had been twelve years in the hands of the *Indians* of *Florida*, whither having gone with the Governour *Narvaez*, he came back to *Cuba*, from whence he was sent again by *Nartaez* his Wife to *Florida*, with twenty or thirty more in a Brigantine. When they came in view of an habitation of *Indians*, they perceived a Cane fixed in the ground, and cloven at the end, wherein there was a Letter, which *Ortiz* imagined to have been left by the Governour to give intelligence of him, when he took the resolution of entring into the Country. He informed himself of four or five *Indians* on the shoar, who made a sign to him to land and take the Letter ; which he and another did, notwithstanding all the resistance that those who were on board the Brigantine could make. So soon as they were come ashoar, a multitude of *Indians* came running out of the Village, and beset them ; so that it was impossible for them to escape :

scape: *Ortiz* his Companion, who offered to make a defence, was killed upon the spot, and he himself carried away to *Ucita*, those on board the Brigantine not daring to come ashore to his relief: immediately by *Ucita's* orders, the poor *Ortiz* was tied to four poles supported by stakes, under which they kindled a fire to burn him alive; but a Daughter of *Ucita's* told him, that that Christian being alone could attempt nothing against him, and that it would be far more honourable for him to keep him in Irons. In fine, she beg'd his life, which *Ucita* granted her. *Ortiz* had his wounds dressed, and being cured, was put to guard the Temple, whither the Wolves came often, and carried away the Bodies that were laid there: The poor *Spaniard* recommended himself to God, and undertook his Office of keeping the Temple. It hapned one night, that the Wolves carried away from him the body of the Son of an *Indian* of great note; *Ortiz* ran after the Wolves, armed with a long staff, and by good luck overtook the Beast that carried the body, which he made it let fall, having with all his force given the Wolf a blow, of which it died not far from the place; *Ortiz* did not know so much, because it was night, onely about day-break he perceived that he wanted the body of the young *Indian*, which extreemly afflicted him, as well as *Ucita*, who resolved to have the Christians life for it. Some *Indians* were set to trace the Wolves, who found

found the body, and a little beyond it the dead Wolf; this pacified *Ucita*, who was very well satisfied with the vigilance of the *Spaniard*, and began to treat him more kindly. Thus he spent three years; at the end of which, another *Indian* Lord, called *Mocofo*, who had his habitation two days Journey from the Port, came and attacked the habitation of *Ucita*, and burnt it to the ground, whilst *Ucita* saved himself in a Village that belonged to him also upon the Sea: By this means *Ortiz* lost his place, and therewith the favour of *Ucita*. Seeing the Devil holds these people in deplorable bondage, they are accustomed to offer to him the life and blood even of their Subjects, or of any body else that falls into their hands. They say that when the Devil would have such Victims, he speaks to them, and tells them, that he thirsts after Sacrifices; and for that use *Ucita* designed his Christian slave: *Ortiz* learn'd it from the same Daughter who had saved him from the fire, and who advised him to flie towards *Mocofo*, who would use him well, seeing she had heard it said, that he often enquired about him, and passionately desired to see him: But seeing he knew not the way, she brought him going half a League out of the Village; and having given him good instructions, returned without being taken notice of. *Ortiz* marched all that night, and found himself next morning upon the bank of a little River, which divided the Territory of *Ucita* from that

of *Mocofo*: There he saw two *Indians* fishing ; and seeing they had Wars with those of *Ucita*, that he understood not their Language, and that so he could not tell them the cause of his coming, he was afraid they might kill him as an enemy ; therefore he ran to the place where their Arms were, and seized them: The *Indians* betook themselves straight to the Village, though he called to them and assured them they were in no danger ; but they not understanding him, ran on still. Their cries alarmed the Village, so that several *Indians* sallied out, and surrounded *Ortiz*, ready to kill him with their Arrows, whilst he sheltered himself under some trees, and cried as loud as he could, that he was the Christian of *Ucita*, whom he had left, that he might come and serve his Lord *Mocofo*. By the providence of God, an *Indian* came who understood the Language of *Ucita* ; he knew what the *Spaniard* said, and pacifying his Companions, told them what he had heard : Four *Indians* went to carry the news to *Mocofo*, who came a quarter of a League to meet *Ortiz*, and expressed a great deal of joy for his arrival ; so that after he had made him take an Oath after the manner of Christians, that he would not run away to look for another Master, he promised to use him kindly ; and that if the Christians came into that Country, he should give him his liberty and leave to go to them ; which on his part he also swore after the man-

manner of the *Indians*. Three years after, some of his Subjects who were a fishing out at Sea, came to inform *Mocoso* that they had seen Ships; wherewith he acquainted *Ortiz*, giving him permission to go and look after them; which he did with much earnestness: But when he found no Vessels upon the Coast, he thought that the *Cacique* or King had put a trick upon him, to discover his intentions: however, he came back to him again; and continued so in all nine years, with little hopes of ever seeing any of his own Religion again. At length Don *Fernando de Soto* arrived in *Florida*, which presently came to *Mocoso's* ears, who told *Ortiz* that the Christians had made a descent at the Village of *Ucita*: Whereupon the *Spaniard*, who believed it to be another snare laid for him, made him answer, That neither Christians, nor any worldly thing else went so near his Heart, as the desire he had to serve him. But the *Cacique* seriously confirmed the news, and permitted him to go to them; adding that if he did not do so, and that the Christians returned back, he would not be to be blamed, seeing he performed what he had promised on his part. The news was so pleasant to *Ortiz*, that he could not perswade himself they were true; nevertheless he thanked the *Cacique*, and took his leave of him: *Mocoso* appointed ten or twelve *Indian* of best note to accompany him; and with them it was that he met *Gallegos*. So soon as he was

come

come unto the Camp, the General ordered a Suit of Cloaths, Arms, and a good Horse to be given him; and asked him if he knew of no Country where there was Gold or Silver. *Ortiz* answered, No; because he had never been farther up in the Country, than ten Leagues beyond the habitation of *Mocofo*: But that thirty Leagues from that Village, *Paracoxi*, the most powerful *Cacique* of all that Country, held his Residence; that *Mocofo*, *Ucita*, and all the other Lords of that Coast paid him Tribute; and that that *Cacique* might give them intelligence of what they sought after: besides, that his Country was far more abundant in *Maex*, and other Provisions, than those of the Coast. This extreamly satisfied our General: so that he had no other thoughts but of making Provisions for entring into the Continent; and the rather, because he imagined that *Florida* being of so vast an extent, on one side or other there must needs be some very rich Country. Some days after *Mocofo* came to see the General, and made him this Discourse.

Most High and Potent Lord, the most inconsiderable in my judgment, of all that are under your Obedience, and yet the most zealous to serve you, does here present himself to your Lordship, with as great confidence of obtaining some favour from you, as if I had testified my desire by effects: For the small service that I have done you, in giving liberty to that Christian whom I had in my power, is no more but a

con-

consequence of the obligation that lay upon me of performing my promise. But as it is the custom of great men to shew their generosity by great favours, I am perswaded, that as you are above other men in the extraordinary Qualities of your Person, and in the Command you have over so many gallant men; so also you surpass them in Liberality, and in all other Virtues: And this gives me hopes that I may obtain the favour which I beg of your Lordship, that you would believe me to be wholly at your devotion, and think of me when you have any occasion of Services. The General made him answer, that though he had given Ortiz his liberty, to comply with the promise he had made, yet he was very much obliged to him for it, and esteemed it a greater kindness than any could be imagined; that therefore he would ever look upon him as his Brother, and testify to him his gratitude on all occasions. He thereupon caused a shirt and other presents to be given him, with which the Cacique was wonderfully well satisfied; and having taken leave of Soto, returned to his habitation.

CHAP. X.

The General sends the Ships to Cuba; he leaves an hundred men at the Port of Ucita, and enters into the Country.

THe place where the Vessels were near the habitation of *Ucita*; was named by the General, the *Port of the Holy Ghost*; and from thence he sent *Balthazar de Gallegos* with fifty Horse, and some Foot into the Province of *Paracoxi*, to view that Country, and to inform himself of the nature of those that lay farther up in *Florida*, with orders to give him advice of every thing he discovered. *Soto* took a resolution also of sending his Ships to *Cuba*, to bring from thence Ammunition and Provisions. *Vasco Percebaldo*, who was preferred to be Captain-General, had no other design in accepting of that charge, but to get Slaves from *Florida*, which he might send to *Cuba* where all his Estate lay: But having made many incursions to no purpose, because of the thick bushes and swamps with which that Country is naturally fortified; he shewed a dislike to the Service, and a great desire to return back to *Cuba*. So that although he had had some misunderstanding with the General, which made

them live together with a dryness; yet he asked him leave to be gone, and received it with great demonstrations of friendship. In the mean time Gallegos being arrived at *Paracoxi*, found the *Cacique* was removed; but he sent him thirty *Indians*, who told him that the *Cacique*, whose Vassals they were, had sent them to know what he sought for in his Country, and wherein he could serve him. Gallegos made answer, That he was obliged to their Lord for his Offers; that they should entreat him to return to his habitation, where they might discourse together, and confirm a sincere peace and friendship, which he desired to enter into with him. The *Indians* carried these words to the *Cacique*, who sent them back to acquaint Gallegos that he was indisposed, which hindered him from coming. The Sergeant-Major asked them if they knew of any Province where there was Gold or Silver. They assured him that there was one to the Westward, called *Cale*; the Inhabitants whereof were in War with the people of another Province, where the Spring lasted all the year long, and where Gold was to be found in abundance, because they make War against those of *Cale* with Head-pieces of Gold. So Gallegos finding that the *Cacique* did not come, and that he only fed him with these false hopes, that he might have time to provide for his own security; and fearing besides that if he let these *Indians* go, he would see them no more,

he

he caused them to be put in Irons, and sent eight Troopers to acquaint the General with what he had done. *Soto* and all the Camp were overjoy'd at this, thinking that the report of the *Indians* might be true. The General left for the Guard of the Port, Captain *Caldeiran* with thirty Horse, and threescore and ten Foot-souldiers, and marched with all the rest to joyn *Gallegos* at *Paracoxi*, from whence without making any stop, he took his march to *Cale*. He found two small Villages upon the rode, *Acela* and *Jocaste*, from whence he marched before streight to *Cale*, with fifty Foot and thirty Horse: Some *Indians* having retreated into Marish or Swamp, near to a place unpeopled that lay upon the rode; *Soto* sent his Interpreter to them, who perswaded them to come back and give a Guide, who led the General to a River that ran with a most rapid stream: We were obliged to make a little Bridge upon the trunk of a tree which stood in the middle of the River, to pass over the Foot. The Horse swam over by the help of a Cable that led them from the one side to the other; because one who had taken the water first, was drowned for want of that invention. From thence the General sent two Troopers to the rest of his men, who were coming after, to bid them make haste, because the way was longer than had been believed, and that they wanted Provisions. When he came to *Cale*, he found the Town abandoned by all,

except three or four *Indian* Spies who were taken. In this place *Soto* stayed for the rest of the Army, who were extremely tired out by fasting, and the badness of the way ; for the Country was poor, and not much cultivated, by reason that the Land is low , and in many places overflow'd, or covered with very thick Woods. And all the Provisions that were taken out of the Ships were spent ; so that they ran to the habitations of the *Indians* , where they found some leaves of Beets, which the more diligent pluckt and eat with water and salt : Such as could get none of them , went to the fields of *Maes* ; and seeing the Corn was not as yet ripe, they pulled up stalks and eat and fed on all together. The stalks of Palm-sprouts were a great relief unto them ; and they found a great many when they came to the River which the General had passed with so much trouble : These sprouts grow upon the Palm-trees as low as those of *Andalousia*. In this place two other Troopers met them from the General, and assured them that there was plenty of *Maes* at *Cale* : this news put life into them again ; and whilst they were upon their march to *Cale*, *Soto* caused all the *Maes* which was ripe in the fields, to be cut down, and laid up a store of it for three months. When the Christians were a reaping, the *Indians* killed three of them ; but one of those who were taken , told the General that seven Leagues from that Town, there was

was a very large Province fruitful in *Maes*, which was called *Palache*. Whereupon he immediately parted from *Cale* with sixty Foot, and fifty Horfe; he left the Camp-Master-General *Louis de Moscoso* with the rest of his men, and expresse orders not to decamp from thence without a warrant under his hand. Seeing no body had any Servants or Slaves, every one pilled the *Maes* his own self, which they pounded in a Mortar or Trough of hollowed wood, with a pestle or pounder made of the end of a beam; and some boulded the flour through their Coats of Mail. They baked the bread in pot-lids which they set upon the fire, in the same manner as they practise in *Cuba*: That way of grinding was so tiresome, that several Souldiers chose rather to eat no bread, than to grind in that manner; but they roasted or boyled the *Maes*, and eat it in the grain.

CHAP. XI.

The General comes to Caliquen, and carries the Cacique thereof to Napetaca with him. The Indians resolve to take him from him by force; many are killed upon that occasion.

DOn *Fernando de Soto* parted from *Cale* the Eleventh of *August*, 1540. and came to lodge at *Itara*; from thence at *Potano*; the third day at *Utimama*; and then at an habitation, which the *Spaniards* call *de Mala paz*, bad Peace; they called it so, because an *Indian* came who called himself the *Cacique*, and offered himself and all his Subjects to the Generals service, provided he would be pleased to set at liberty twenty *Indians* men and women, who had been taken the night before; that as an acknowledgment for that favour, he would furnish him with Provisions and good Guides. The General caused them to be set at liberty, and put the *Indian* under guard. Next day several *Indians* appeared, and drew up round a little Village near to a Wood; the *Indian* desired to be had near to them, that he would speak to them and re-assure them, and that they would do whatever he should command them.

them. When he was got pretty near, he made his escape out of the hands of those that guarded him; and ran away so swiftly, that no man was able to overtake him; and at the same time all the *Indians* fled into the Wood. The General let slip a Hound which had already fleshed upon some *Indians*; and that Dog passing through all the rest, went and seized the counterfeit *Cacique*, and held him till some came and took him. From thence the General went to *Cholupaba*, which the *Spaniards* called *Villa Farta* (fat Town) by reason of the plenty of *Maes* that they found there. They made a wooden-bridge to pass the River which is near to that habitation; and having marched two days over a desert Country, they arrived at *Caliquen* the Seventeenth of *August*. In that place, when *Soto* informed himself about the Province of *Palache*, he was told that *Narvaez* had advanced no farther in, than the place where then they were; and that he had embarked there, because there was no way to go farther, and that there were no more habitations to be met with. It was urged to the General, that he should return to the *Port of the Holy Ghost*, and leave *Florida*, where he run the risk of being lost as *Narvaez* was; that if they engaged farther in, there would be no getting back again, because the *Indians* would spend that little *Maes* which they had left in maintaining themselves. The General made answer to these grievances,

That he would never turn his back before he saw the danger nearer ; and that he was not perswaded of the truth of what the *Indians* said. Thereupon he ordered the Horses to be kept saddled, and in a condition to march, and sent orders to the Camp-Master-General instantly to come and joyn him. *Moscoso* and many others believing that they should advance no farther than *Palache*, buried under-ground all the Iron which they had at *Cale* ; and came to *Caliquen* after they had suffered much hardship, by reason that the Country through which the Governour had marched, was utterly wasted. When all the Army was joyned, *Soto* parted from *Caliquen* the Tenth of *September*, taking the *Cacique* along with him. At the end of three days, some *Indians* came to visit their Lord ; and all the days following they attended him on the march , playing on a certain pipe, which serves for a signal that they come as friends : They said that the Army would soon come to the habitation of *Uzachil*, a kinsman of the *Cacique* of *Caliquen* ; that he expected the *Spaniards*; with intention to render them all sorts of service, and at length prayed the General to set their *Cacique* at liberty ; but he would not, for fear they might make an Insurrection, and refuse him Guides : however, he used civil pretexts, and made a fair excuse. In this manner were five days spent, until the Army arrived at *Napetaca* the Fifteenth of *September*. Fourteen

Indians

Indians came to the Governour there, praying him to send back their *Cacique*; he told them that he detained him not by force, but that he desired he might accompany him as far as *Uzachil*. In the mean time *John Ortiz* learnt from an *Indian*, that they were resolved to assemble, and endeavour to set their Lord at liberty: *Ortiz* acquainted the Governour with it, who gave orders that all both Horse and Foot should arm, and be ready within their Quarters, to the end that the *Indians* suspecting nothing, might be so bold as to venture into the Town: Thereupon four hundred *Indians* in Arms being posted within view of the Camp, sent two men to the Governour to demand their *Cacique*. *Soto* took six Troopers with him, and holding the *Cacique*, to whom he talked, by the hand to re-assure the *Indians*, he advanced to the place where they were posted; but when he perceived that they prepared to fight, he commanded his Trumpeter to give the allarm: At that sound all the *Spaniards* Horse and Foot sallied out of their Quarters with so great rage, that the *Indians* being surprized and amazed, minded nothing but how to escape; nevertheless they killed the Governours Horse and another, but lost forty men that were run through with Lances; the rest threw themselves into two Lakes distant from each other. We pursu'd them to the side of the Lakes, and shot at them as they were swimming to save themselves: but
not

not many shot did hit ; so that the Governour commanded one of the Lakes to be beset, the few men that he had not sufficing to encompass both. The beset *Indians* endeavoured to save themselves in the night-time, swimming softly to the shoar ; and that they might not be discerned, they covered their heads with the leaves of Water-lillies : but the Troopers perceiving the water to bubble, spurred in their Horses up to the counter , and drove the *Indians* in again. The night was thus spent without any rest on either side: *Ortiz* called to them to render themselves to the Governour , seeing they could not escape ; which at length they did, being constrained by the sharpness of the cold that they endured in the water. So the first who could hold out no longer , cried to *Ortiz* , that if they would not kill him, he would render himself ; and before the break of day, they came all out one after another , except twelve of the bravest, who all resolved to die in the water before they would yield : But the *Indians* of *Paracoxi*, who were not in Irons, jumped into the Lake ; and swimming , took hold of these desperado's by the hair , and dragg'd them ashoar, who were immediately put into Irons. All the rest were divided amongst the Christians to serve them for Slaves. The disgrace and misery of that slavery, made them resolve to rebel ; and they charged one of their number , who served for Interpreter, and whom they highly esteemed

med for his Valour, to strangle the General when he should speak to him, by throttling him with his two hands. This blade finding a favourable occasion, fell upon the General; but before he could get his two hands to his Throat, he gave him such a furious blow with his fist upon the face, that he put him all in a gore of blood: All the *Indians* at this signal bestirred themselves; he that could make use of his Masters Arms, or of the Pounder wherewith they pounded the *Maes*, set upon his Master therewith, or on the first that fell into his hands. They made use of the Lances or Swords they met with, as skilfully as if they had been bred to it from their childhood; so that one of them with Sword in hand, made head against fifteen or twenty men in the open place, until he was killed by the Governours Halbardiers. Another armed with a Lance got up into a Granary where they kept the *Maes*, and making as great noise there as if there had been ten men together, he defended the door so well, that they were obliged to shoot him through a hole in the roof. They were to the number of two hundred *Indians*, who were at length beaten and reduced. The Governour gave the younger to those who had good Chains, and commanded them to secure them well: all the rest were tied to stakes in the middle of the place, and shot to death with Arrows by the *Indians* of *Paracoxi*.

CHAP. XII.

The Governour comes to Palache ; he is told that there is a great deal of Gold farther up in the Country.

WE parted from *Napetaca* the Thre and twentieth of *September*, and went to encamp by a River, where two *Indians* brought the General a Stag from the *Cacique* of *Uzachil*: next day we passed by the *Pelaya*, a large Habitation, and from thence went to *Uzachil*, which we found abandoned upon the report that was spread of the Massacre of *Napetaca*. The Town was full of *Maes*, little Beans, and Cucumbers, which were very agreeable refreshments to us, as more suitable to our way of living: The *Maes* was like Millet, and the Cucumbers better than those of *Spain*. The General sent out two Captains several ways to take *Indians*, who brought in an hundred as well women as men, that were all divided in this manner: The Captain who took the prize set one or two apart for the Governour, the rest were divided betwixt the Captain and Souldiers. They were chained by the neck, and served to carry the Baggage, pound the *Maes*, and in other employments wherein the chain

chain incommoded them not too much. But seeing the love of Liberty makes any enterprize easie, the *Indian* who was led to the Wood to provide fewel, or to cut *Maes*, sometimes killed his Master, and ran away with the Chain; others filed it with Flints, which they used instead of Iron. They who were catched in any of these actions, pay'd dear for it, to the end they might take from them the boldness of attempting the like another time. When the Women or Children were an hundred or six score Leagues from their own Country, they were let go without Chains; these were very serviceable, and learned *Spanish* very soon. The Governour, at length, left *Uzachil*, that he might go to *Palache*; and in two days march came to *Axille*, where the *Indians* did not at all expect us; but seeing the Woods were near, most part fled into them, and escaped. Next day, being the First of *October*, we set forward, but first had a bridge made over a River that we were to cross in our way; at the bridge it was a stones throw over, where no ground was to be found, and at the sides there was water up to ones middle: The sides were covered with high and very thick bushes, where the *Indians* made a shew of defending the passage; but the General ordered his Cross-bow-men to advance, who made them retreat; and some Souldiers past over upon pieces of wood that were shoved a-cross, to defend the entry of the Bridge.

So

So the General crossed over with all his men, on Thursday St. Francis his day, and came to Quarters at *Vitachuco*, a Village of the Province of *Palache*. The *Indians* had set it on fire, and the Houses were still burning; however, we entred the Province, which we found to be very well peopled, and plentiful in *Maes*. We met every where almost with Houses like to our Farm-houses in *Spain*; and large Towns, as *Uzelu*, where we arrived on Sunday the twenty fifth of *October*, and on Tuesday after at *Anhayca* of *Palache*, where the *Cacique* who commanded the whole Province had his Residence. The Camp-Master or Quarter-Master-General, whose place it is to quarter the Army, assigned us Quarters round the Town. There were other Villages at half a League or at most a Leagues distance, from whence we had good store of *Maes*, Cucumbers, small Beans, and dried Prunes better than those of *Spain*; the Trees that bear these Plums, grow naturally in all the fields. These Provisions were brought to *Anhayca* of *Palache*, in sufficient quantities to serve us all the Winter. The Governour knowing that the Sea was but ten Leagues off, sent thither a Captain with some Horse and Foot; who having past *Ochete*, six Leagues from our Quarters, came to the Sea-shoar, where they found a great Tree cut down, and shaped in form of a Manger; they saw also the bones of dead Horses, which made them conclude that that must be the place where

on where *Narvaez* built the Barks wherein he was
cast away: the Governour being informed of
that, sent *Danbusco* and thirty Troopers to the
Port of the *Holy Ghost*, with orders to *Caldeiran*
to leave that post, and come to *Palache*. *Dan-*
busco parted the Twentieth of *November*, and
found that the *Indians* were returned to *Uzachil*
and to the other Villages; yet he took none of
them, fearing that might stop his march, and give
them time to draw together. He passed by their
habitations onely in the night-time, and took his
rest for three or four hours in some by-place;
so that he made but ten days Journey to the
Port, from whence he sent two Caravels to *Cuba*,
on which he embarked twenty *Indian* women for
Dona Isabella, according to the Governours or-
ders. He went on board the two Brigantines
with all the Foot; and coasting along the shoar,
came to *Palache*. *Caldeiran* made the Journey
by Land, with the Troopers and some Cross-bow-
men; but the *Indians* set upon him on his march,
and wounded some of his men. So soon as he
was come to *Palache*, the Governour sent to the
Port, planks, nails, and all other materials neces-
sary for the building of a Bark; which he fitted
out and manned with thirty men well armed, to
cruise in that Bay, in expectation of the Brigan-
tines: They had some engagements with the
Indians, who skulked in their Canoes about
that Coast. In the mean time, an *Indian* undis-
covered

covered by the Sentinels, came and set fire to our habitation, on Saturday the Nine and twentieth of *November*; and seeing it blew a high wind, one half of the Town was burnt down. It was Sunday the Nine and twentieth of *December* before *Danhusco* arrived with his Brigantines. The Governour having resolved to discover the Country to the West, commanded out *Maldonado* with fifty Foot-souldiers to march along the Coast, and search for some Harbours; and at the same time he detached Troopers to go upon the scout about the Town, because the *Indians* were become so insolent, as to come and kill men within two Cross-bow-shot of our Camp. These Troopers found two *Indians* and a woman gathering small Beans; and though the *Indians* might have saved themselves, yet they chose rather to die than to abandon the woman, who was Wife to one of them: They wounded three Horses, whereof one died. Some days after, *Caldeiran* with those whom he Commanded, entred into a Wood that was upon the rode to the Sea; there he was set upon by *Indians*, who forced him back, and took from him the Provisions which were carried by his men. In the mean while, the time which the Governour had prefixed to *Maldonado* for his return, was elapsed by three or four days, which did not a little trouble him; and he had resolved not to stay for him but eight days longer, when that Captain came, bringing with him

an *Indian* of a Province called *Ochuse*, threescore Leagues distant from *Palache*: There he had found an Harbour of good Anchorage, and safe against all weathers; this extreemly satisfied the Governour, who always hoped to find on that side some Country rich in Gold. He sent *Maldonado* to the *Havana* for Ammunition and Provisions, and gave him orders to return back to him again to the Port of *Ochuse*, whither he was to go by Land: That if any obstacle intervened that might hinder the Army from being there the Spring following, *Maldonado* was to return to the *Havana*, and come back again the next Spring after, to wait for the Governour in that Port, because he would engage in no other Enterprize, before he had found *Ochuse*. *Maldonado* being gone with these orders, and his Company being given to *John de Guzman*, the Treasurer *John Gaytan* brought a young *Indian* to the Governour, who had been taken at *Napetaca*: He told him that he was not of that Country, but of another very remote towards the East; and that when he was taken he was come on his Travels to *Napetaca*: That his Country, called *Tupaha*, was govern'd by a Lady, whose Town was of a prodigious bigness; that she had Tribute paid her by all her Neighbours, by some in Goods, and by others in Gold. Whereupon he described the manner how that Gold was dug, how it was melted and refined, as if he had seen it done a hun-

dred times, or as if the Devil had taught him; insomuch that all who understood the manner of working in the Mines, averred that it was impossible for him to speak so exactly of it, without having seen the same; and so the relation of that *Indian* past for a real Truth, because of the circumstances wherewith he confirmed it.

CHAP. XIII.

The Governour leaves Palache, to go in search of the Province of Yupha; and what befel him in that Expedition.

UPon this encouragement we left *Anhayca* of *Palache* on Wednesday the Third of March, 1540. no man having any thing in his thoughts but to go in search of the rich Country of *Tupaka*. The Governour ordered Provisions to be made for threescore Leagues of desert, which much incommoded the Foot, who were obliged to carry their Victuals on their backs; because the *Indians* that served us, going naked and in Irons during the bitter cold of Winter, were almost all starved to death. After four days march we came to a River, where the Governour caused a great Canoe to be made, by means whereof Chains were fastned to both sides of the River, which served for

for Cables, to bear up the Canoe in passing against the current of the water. The Horse swam over by the help of Ropes that pulled them, and that labour stopt us a day and a halfs time. At length we came to *Capachiqui* on Saturday the Eleventh of *March*; the *Indians* were in Arms in all that Country; so that five *Spaniards* being gone to seek Mortars to pound their *Maes* in, in some scattered Cottages, met with several *Indians* who came upon the scout: Five of them detached from the rest, and attacked us so furiously, that a *Spaniard* ran away and came and gave the allarm in the Camp. The most diligent went out to assist their Comrades, and found one Christian dead, and the other three dangerously wounded; but the *Indians* fled into a swamp to secure themselves from the Horse. The Governour leaving *Capachiqui*, past over a a desert Country, and came to *Toalli* the One and twentieth of the Month. In that Country we began to find houses far different from those which hitherto we had seen: Those were onely covered with Herbs, whereas these of *Toalli* had for their Roof little Canes placed together like Tile; they were very neat, some had the walls made of poles so artificially interwoven, that they seemed to be built of stone and lime: For that being a cold Country, every *Indian* hath a House to live in in the Winter, inside and outside made tight with these Poles. The door is narrow and low;

they shut it well in the night-time, and kindle a fire within the house, which heats it like an Oven so that one hath no need of being covered. They have other Habitations for the Summer, and Kitchens adjoyning their Houses where they bake their Bread. The Granaries wherein they lay up the *Maes*, are raised upon four posts, boarded on the sides, with a floor made of Canes. The Houses of the *Caciques* and persons of Quality amongst them, are to be distinguished not onely by their greatness, but also by the large Balconies that they have over the Entry, and by seats below made of Canes in the manner of benches. Every house hath several Granaries, where they lay up what their Subjects and Tenents bring them in for Rent; as *Maes*, Stags skins, and Mantles of the Country, made like little Cassocks of the rind or soft part of the bark of certain Trees; nay, and some also woven of the thread of a certain Herb, which being well beaten, becomes like flax. These Mantles serve them for Cloaths; one they have which covers them from the girdle down below the knee, and another on the left shoulder, thrown back under the right arm, which they wear always abroad, in the same manner as the *Bohemians* do. The *Indians* have never more than one about their shoulders, and cover their lower parts with Breeches made of a Stags skin, much like to those that are used in *Spain*: The leather is extraordinarily

narily well drest, and they give it what colour they please, with so perfect a dye, that their fire-red colour is not surpassed by the finest Scarlet. Their Black is good also, and of this they make Shooes; they give the same colour to their Mantles with as much perfection. We parted from *Toalli* the Twenty third of *March*, and on Friday the Army came to a little River, which they passed upon a Bridge made of one single Tree, from which *Bennet Fernandez* a Portuguese fell into the water and was drowned. The Village of *Achese* was pretty near, where the *Indians* had no intelligence of our march; to our view they threw themselves into a little River near the Village; but some were taken, and amongst these, women: One of them understood the Language of that Lad who conducted the Governour to *Tupaha*, which much confirmed the relation he had made, because we had passed through Countries where different Languages were spoken, nay and some which he understood not. The Governour sent one of the *Indians* whom he had taken, to call back the *Cacique*, who was got to the other side of the River: He came and made him this following discourse.

Most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Lord, things that are rarely seen, cause admiration: How could we then be affected at the sight of your Lordship, and men who were altogether unknown to us, mounted upon so furious Beasts as these seem to

be, and breaking into my Country so impetuously, before I knew any thing of your coming? This hath appeared to us so extraordinary a thing, and hath struck such terrour in our minds, that it was not in our power to stay and receive your Lordship with that Honour which is due to so High and Illustrious a Prince. But the confidence I have of your Generosity and Virtues, makes me hope that you will not onely pardon my fault, but gives me also boldness to desire Favours of you: First, that your Lordship would dispose of my Person, Country, and Subjects; and then that you would tell me from whence you come, whither you go, and what you seek, that so I may be in a better condition to render you service.

The Governour answered, That he was as well satisfied with his Offers and good will, as if he had presented him with a great Treasure; that he was Son of the Sun, and that he came from the places of his abode, in search of the greatest Lord, and richest Province of that Country.

The *Cacique* replied, That beyond his Territories there was a great Lord, whose Country was called *Ocute*; and gave us an Interpreter and Guides. This obliged the Governour to set at liberty all the Subjects of this *Cacique*, whose Village he left, marching along the River through a very well-peopled Country. We parted the first of *April*; and at our departure, by orders from the Governour, erected a wooden-Cross in the middle of the Market-place of the Village; and being in

haste,

haste, we onely told the *Indians*, that that Cross served to put us in mind of what *Jesus Christ* suffered for our Redemption, that he was both God and Man, and that he created Heaven and Earth; that in consideration thereof, they should bear a reverence towards that sign; which they promised to do. The Fourth of *April* we came to *Altaraca*, and the Tenth of the same Month to *Ocute*: The *Cacique* sent two thousand *Indians* to the Governour, with a Present of Rabbits, Partridges, *Maes-bread*, two Pullets, and a great many Dogs. These last were no less esteemed in the Army, than the best sheep, because meat and salt were very scarce there, insomuch that the sick had no kind of refreshments; which was the cause that the smallest indisposition which would have been made nothing of in other places, reduced a man to extremity of a sudden, so that he died of meer weakness: And it was sad to hear the poor wretches in their agony sigh and say, *Alas! had I but a bit of meat, or a little salt, I should not die.* The *Indians* are not put to such streights; for with their Arrows they kill store of Fowl, and Venision, as wild Hens, Rabbits, Stags, and other Beasts: They are expert in catching wild Fowl and Beasts, and have a thousand inventions for that; which the Christians had not; and though they had had, they wanted time, being constantly on the march, and not daring to leave their Ranks. This want of meat

was the cause that of the six hundred men who followed *Soro*, he who could catch a Dog in any Village thought himself a very happy man ; (for sometimes we found thirty in a place) but the Souldier that killed one, and sent not a quarter to his Captain, suffered for it, paying dear for his incivilities when he was to go Sentinel, or upon any guard of fatigue. Tuesday the Twelfth of April, the Governour parted from *Ocute*, the *Cacique* having given him four hundred Indians for Service. He went to *Cofaqui*, and from thence to *Patofa*; the *Cacique* of this Province who was in peace with the *Cacique* of *Ocute*, had information of the Governours march; and being desirous to procure his friendship, he came to him, and spake in this manner.

Illustrious and Potent Lord, I should now demand of Fortune that she would be pleased by some small croſſonely to make me pay for the Honour to which she advances me, in making me so happy as to obtain the thing I most desired in this life, which is to see your Lordship, and be able to render you service. Though my Tongue bear the image of what is in my heart, and that my heart cannot dissemble the satisfaction which it receives on this occasion, yet it wants power fully to expreſs it. What can the Country which I govern have merited, to be honoured with the sight of so great a Man, and so excellent a Prince, who ought to be served and respected by all men in the world? And the Inhabitants of this Country being
the

the most inconsiderable of all others, whence can they have this happiness? the thought of which alone, is enough to preserve them from all the calamities that may befall them according to the course of Fortune. Seeing if to day we be so happy as to be reckoned amongst your Lordships Subjects, we cannot fail of being protected and maintained by true Justice, and Reason, and of taking to our selves the name of men, seeing they who have neither Reason nor Justice, may justly be ranked among Beasts. I heartily then, and with all due respect, offer my self to your Lordship, beseeching you that in recompence for the sincerity of my will, you would be pleased to Command me, my Country, and Subjects. The Governour told him, that he was much obliged to him for his kind expressions, of the effects whereof he was already sensible; that he would remember his good will as long as he lived, and honour and favour him as his Brother. For the space of fifty Leagues from *Ocute* to *Patofa*, the Inhabitants whereof are of a gentle and peaceable nature; the Country is very pleasant, and the Soil fat, being watered with a great many Rivers which contribute to its fertility. But from *Ocute* to the Port of the *Holy Ghost*, where we first entred *Florida*, that Country, which is no less than three hundred and fifty Leagues in extent, is a light and soft Land, full of swamps and very high and thick bushes, where the wild and warlike *Indians* defend themselves against the attempts of the *Spaniards*, because
Horse

Horse cannot break through those strong places; which was very incommodious to us, not onely because of the want of Provisions, which in all places they carried away, but also for the difficulty we had in finding Guides.

CHAP. XIV.

The Governour leaving the Province of Patofa, meets with a Desert, where he and all his men were reduced to extreame misery.

IN this Habitation of *Patofa*, the young *Indian* who served for Interpreter and Guide, fell upon the ground foaming at the mouth as if he had been posselt with the Devil; the Gospel was read over him, and he recovered. After that, he assured us, that four days Journey from thence towards the East, we should find the Country he spake of. The *Indians* of *Patofa* on the contrary affirmed, that they had no knowledge of any Habitation that way, but that they knew there was a plentiful and populous Province to the North-West, called *Cofa*; however, the *Cacique* told the Governour that he would furnish him with Guides and Servants what way soever he resolved to go, whether towards *Cofa*, or towards the

the Province which that *Indian* designed. *Soto* demanded six hundred *Indians* of him, and so they parted with testimonies of reciprocal affection. We took *Maes* for four days, and marched six by a way that grew narrower and narrower still till at length it altogether failed us. The *Indian* marched in the Van, and made us foard over two great Rivers a Cross-bow-shot broad, where we had water up to the girts; but seeing the Current was very rapid, the Horses were forced to make a Lane, to secure the passage of the Foot, who passed through holding by the Horses. Our fatigues were doubled in passing a broader and more rapid River, where the Horses were forced to swim a Pikes length: This put the Governour into a great perplexity; he made a halt under some Pine-trees after we had passed the River, and threatned the young *Indian*, that he would have him thrown to the dogs, because he had deceived him, in telling him that it was but four days journey, whereas we had spent nine, marching seven or eight Leagues a day; and the Horses being quite spent by reason that the men themselves had short allowance of *Maes*. The *Indian* confessed that he knew not where he was; and that acknowledgment would have certainly made him a prey to the dogs, had not he been the only person whom *John Ortiz* understood. The Governour left the Army encamped under the Pines, and with a Guide and some Horse and Foot

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advanced five or six Leagues into the Country to find out a way ; but he returned at night extremely troubled that he could find no sign that that Country was inhabited. Next day it was debated in Council , whether we should return back again , or take some other course. The Country which we had left behind us, was ruined and laid waste, and our provision of *Maes* spent. Both men and horses were so heartless , that it was doubted whether we could be able to get to a place of refreshment : besides, the *Indians* taking their advantage from that disorder, might have had the boldness to attack us ; so that we had cause equally to fear War and Famine, if we resolved to turn back again. Wherefore the Governour resolving to send out some Troopers on all hands to search for some habitation, dispatched four Captains several ways, with eight Troopers a piece. They came back at night , dragging their Horses by the bridle , or driving them before them , they were so quite spent ; and yet found neither rode nor habitation. Next day four others were commanded out , accompanied with eight Troopers who all could swim, mounted on better horses , with orders even to cross the Rivers they might meet with. These Captains were , *Gallegos* who marched upwards along the side of the River ; *Danhusco* who followed the course of the River downwards ; *Romo* and *Lobillo* who cross the Country. The Governour

vernour had brought with him into *Florida* an hundred Swine, which had already bred him three hundred Pigs; some of these he caused to be killed, and half a pound of flesh given to every Souldier a day; for all the *Maes* was consumed three or four days before. Thus the Souldiers kept Soul and Body together, with so small an allowance of meat and some boyled herbs; for the *Indians* of *Patofa* were sent back so soon as Provisions began to be scarce, though the poor men shew'd an extraordinary desire to serve the Christians in that necessity, and a great deal of trouble to leave them, before they saw them in a good Country. Sunday in the Evening *Danbusco* returned, and told us that he had found a little Village about twelve or thirteen Leagues from the Camp; which so rejoiced the Governour and whole Army, that they seemed to be raised from death to life again. Munday the Six and twentieth of *April*, we decamped to go to that little habitation, by the *Indians* called *Aymay*, and by the *Spaniards* the *Village of good Relief*. The Governour left a Letter buried at the root of one of the Pines in the Camp, and these words cut in the bark of the Tree: *Dig at the root of this Pine, and you'll find a Letter*. It was to give notice to the other Captains who were abroad upon discovery, what was become of the Governour, and what way he was gone. The way was no otherwise to be known, but by the trees
and

and bushes which *Danbusco* had broken down in his passage. The Governour being accompanied with those who were best mounted, arrived at the Habitation on Tuesday, all doing their utmost to follow him in the march ; so that some lay all night two Leagues short of the Village, others three or four, according to their courage or strength. In this habitation we found a Granary full of parched *Maes*, and some *Maes* in grain, which was distributed by allowances : We also took four *Indians*, who constantly affirmed that they knew of no other Habitation, till the Governour commanded one to be burnt alive ; then one of them told us, that two days Journey from thence, there was a Province called *Cutisachiqui*. On Tuesday *Gallegos*, *Romo*, and *Robilho* joyned us ; they found the Letter, and had followed the tract of the Army ; but *Lobilho* lost two of his men, whose horses could not march : The Governour was much offended at that negligence, and gave orders to search after them. In the mean time he parted for *Cutisachiqui*, and took three *Indians* by the way, who told him that the Lady of that Country had already had notice of the Christians, and that she expected them in one of her Habitations. The Governour sent back one of these three *Indians* to offer the Lady his friendship, and tell her that he was coming to see her. So soon as he was in sight of the Village, four *Canoes*, in one of which was the
Sister

Sister of the *Cacique* or Queen, came to receive him; and that *Indian* Lady coming ashore, told him, That her Sister had sent her to kiss his Lordships hand; and that she did not come her self, because she was taken up in giving orders to make ready all her *Canoes* for transporting the Army, and for the reception of so great a Lord, to whom she had devoted all her Services. The Governour thanked her; and some time after she was gone back, the *Cacique* appeared in a kind of Litter, carried by four of the most considerable of her Subjects to the water-side. She went into a *Canoe* which had a Tent in the stern supported by a Lance, with a Carpet and two Cushions on which she sat, accompanied by some *Indian* women of her Retinue, and many *Canoes* with men. In that equipage she came to the other side, where the Governour expected her, and spake to him in these terms.

Most excellent Lord, may all happiness attend your arrival in this Country which belongs to you. Though my Ability comes short of my Will, and the Services we render you suit not with my Desires, nor with the merit of so powerful a Prince; nevertheless, since the Will is more to be esteemed than all the Treasures in the World, if they be presented without it, I offer your Lordship a firm and constant good will, with my Person, Country, Subjects, and mean Services. Having said so, she presented the Governour with Mantles and Skins, which were brought

brought in the other *Canoes*, and pulling from her neck a Lace of large valuable Pearls, she put it about the Governours, whom she entertained very pleasantly till a number of *Canoes* were come, sufficient to carry over the Army: And so long as he stayed in that Village, she took care to send him a great many Pullets daily. That was a very pleasant Country, fruitful and watered with a great many Rivers. It produces but a few bushes, but Nut-trees and Mulberry-trees in abundance. The *Indians* told us, that the Sea was but two days journey distant. Within a League round the Village, there were a great many forsaken houses, wherein the grass grew, which was a sign that they had been a long time uninhabited: We were told by the *Indians* that the Plague had been the cause of it; that it had raged in the Country two years before our coming, which had obliged the Inhabitants of these Villages to seek out other Habitations. In their Store-houses were still to be seen a great many Mantles made of stuff, of the bark of a tree, or of white, green, red, and blew feathers, very convenient for the Winter, and very neat according to their fashion. Besides these, there were a great many Deers skins rarely well dyed, and cut into breeches, hose, and shooes. Seeing the *Cacique* observed that the *Spaniards* highly esteemed Pearls, she bid the Governour send and search in some Tombs that were in her Town, telling him that

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he would find abundance there ; and that if he caused those also of the other Villages to be searched, they would furnish Pearls enough to load all the horses of the Army. The Tombs of the Town were indeed searched, where we got fourteen bushels of Pearls ; and the figures of Children and Birds made also of Pearl. The people are rawny, well shaped, and more polite than any we had as yet seen in *Florida* : They all wear Cloaths and Breeches after their own fashion. The young *Indian* told the Governour that they began to enter into the Country he told him of ; and seeing there was some probability in it, he understanding the Language of the Inhabitants, *Soto* suffered himself to be perswaded ; which made the *Indian* desire of him that he might be Baptized, and had it granted : he was named *Pedro*, or *Perico* ; and the Governour ordered the Chain which he had hitherto carried, to be taken off. That Country, according to the relation of the *Indians*, had been well peopled ; it was reckoned plentiful ; and probably the young *Indian* who led us thither, might have heard of it, though he affirmed that he had seen it, having devised all the rest of his story according to the best of his imagination. We found in the Town a Dagger and some Coats of Mail ; whereupon the *Indians* told us, that many years before, the Christians had landed in a Port two days journey from thence (this was certainly *Aylhan*, who undertook

the Conquest of *Florida*) that the Governour died upon his landing, which had occasioned great factions, divisions, and slaughter amongst the chief Gentlemen that had followed him, every one pretending to the supreme Command, so that at length they left the Port and returned to *Spain*, without discovering the Country. It was thought fit by all that we should stop here, and people this place; which was so advantageously situated, that all the Captains of ships of *new Spain, Peru, S. Marte*, and of the Continent, would be over-joy'd to come and Trade in this Port, since it lay in their way to *Spain*: That the Country was exceeding good, and that it might afford a good Trade and very considerable profit. But since nothing run in the Governours mind but the Treasure of *Atabalipa*, and that he hoped to find the like; the fertility of that Country, and the abundance of Pearls, could not satisfy him, though in reality a great many of them were worth no less than Gold; and those which they might have made the *Indians* fish, would have been of another-guefs value, if the Country had been peopled, because they spoil their lustre by piercing them in the fire. Nevertheless, though the Governour was much prest to comply in that with the desire of all his men, he answered, That that Country could not supply us with Provisions enough for one Month; that we could not excuse our selves from going to the Port *Ocuise*, where *Maldonado* was to wait for us; and

and that, in fine, that Country would be always open to us, and we might retreat thither if we found none richer: That in the mean time the *Indians* would sow their Land, and so we should find *Maes* in greater plenty. He always informed himself of the *Indians*, whether they had not heard talk of some great Lord, and rich Country; and the *Indians* telling him that twelve days journey from *Cutifachiqui*, there was a Province called *Chiaba*, subject to the Lord of *Cofa*, he immediately resolved to go in quest of that Country; and as he was a dry and severe man, though he took pleasure to hear the opinions of all, yet so soon as he had declared his own, he could not endure to be contradicted, but did what he judged best himself. Thus all were feign to obey, insomuch that though the leaving of this Country appeared to be a great fault seeing we could have got Provisions from the Neighbours about, until the *Indians* had sown their Land, and the *Maes* been ripe, yet none durst oppose the decision of *Soto*.

CHAP. XV.

The Governour departs from Cutifachiqui to go to Cofo: What hapned to him during his march.

WE left Cutifachiqui the Third of May: The *Indians* were up in arms, and the *Queen* shew'd some indifferency towards us, nay and some design of flying without giving us Guides or *Indian* Servants to carry our Baggage. Her disgust was occasioned by the bad usage which the *Indians* had received from some of the *Christians*; amongst whom, as generally in all great Companies, there were some of a low and base mind, who for a little interest committed such actions, as expos'd themselves and those that were with them. These broyls oblig'd the Governour to command the *Cacique* to be arrested, and carried away; in a manner unsuitable to the kindness she had shew'd him, and of the reception he had had: she was forced to walk on foot with her Maids. In the mean time, that she might deserve a little consideration to be had for her still, she caus'd *Indians* to come out of all the Habitations by which the Governour pass'd, to carry the Baggage from one place to another. We march'd

ched an hundred Leagues in her Territories, and every where we perceived the marks of the reverence and obedience which were rendred to her in the promptitude and zeal wherewith all the *Indians* executed her orders. However, *Perico* told us that she was not the Lady of the Land, but the *Cacique's* Cousin, who had sent her to that Town to do Justice upon some Lords who had revolted; but he had lost all manner of credit by the lies he had told; however, he was born with, because he was useful to us as an Interpreter. During seven days march, till we came to *Chalique*, we past through the most wretched Country in all *Florida*; the *Indians* there feed on Rods which they search for in the fields; and Fowl they kill. They are a peaceable people, go naked, and are extreemly feeble: their *Cacique* brought the Governour two Stags skins as a very considerable present. There is such plenty of wild Herns in that Country, that one Habitation presented the Governour with seven hundred; and indeed in all the rest, they offer'd him what they had. That Province is five days journey distant from the Province of *Xualla*; In this last, we found very little *Maes*, and that made us after six days stay, to leave it; though both men and horses were both equally tired. From *Ocute* to *Cutisachiqui*, they reckon an hundred and thirty Leagues, of which four score are desert; and from *Cutisachiqui* to *Xualla* two hundred and fifty

through a mountainous Country. We found some very bad ones in our way from *Xualla* to *Quaxule*: and whilst we were upon the march, the *Cacique* of *Cutifachiqui* stole away from the *Indian* slaves who carried her, upon pretext of going to do some needs in a Wood near the rode; but so soon as she was there, she fled into the thick of the Wood, where she hid her self, so that she could not be found. It was the Governour's design to take her along with him to *Quaxule*, where the Lands of the *Indian Caciques* that paid her Homage, ended: She carried away with her also a little Box, which the *Indians* call *Petaca*, and which is made of Canes: That Box was full of unpierced Pearls, which those who had skill judged to be of very great value. An *Indian* woman that waited on her carried the Box, which the Governour left in her custody that he might not afflict her too much, but with an intention to ask it of her when he dismissed her at *Quaxule*. She had a care not to forget it, and went to *Xualla* in company of three slaves who had fled from the Army, and a Trooper, who being left behind sick of a Feaver, had lost his way in the Woods. *Alimamos* (that was the Troopers name) told so many things to these slaves, that he made two of them change their resolution and return with him to the Governour in the Province of *Cbiaba*: They brought him news that the *Cacique* was at *Xualla*, with an *Indian* the slave of

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Vasconcelos ; that she would by no means consent to come back with them ; and that the *Indian* and *Cacique* liv'd together like man and wife, being resolv'd to return to *Cutifachiqui*. In five days we arriv'd at *Quaxule*, where the *Indians* made a present to the Governour of three hundred Dogs, knowing that the Christians eat the flesh of them, which these people did not. *Quaxule* was not provided of *Maes* no more than the rest of the Country that we had past ; which oblig'd the Governour to send an *Indian* to the *Cacique* of *Chiaba*, to pray him to make provision of some *Maes* in his Country, where the Army was to refresh for some days. Two days after on our way to *Canasagua*, the Governour met twenty *Indians* all loaded with baskets of Mulberries, which they presented him with ; for from *Cutifachiqui* all along to this Province, and farther in in *Florida* , there are a great many Mulberry-trees, Walnut-trees, and Plum-trees, which grow naturally wild in the fields, but yet as large and bear as fair fruit as those which are cultivated with care in our Orchards. Leaving *Canasagua*, we march'd five days through a desert Country ; and two Leagues from *Chiaba*, fifteen *Indians* loaded with *Maes* met the Governour from the *Cacique*, who told him that their *Cacique* expected him with twenty Granaries full of provisions which he offer'd him , as he also did his Person, Country, Subjects, and all that he had. The Go-

vernour entred *Chiaba* the Twenty fifth of *July*, where he was very well received by the *Cacique*, who having made him this discourse, left his lodgings for him.

Parent and Excellent Lord, I esteem my self so happy to see that your Lordship is pleased to make use of my Services, that nothing can give me greater satisfaction, nor be more esteemed by me. Your Lordship being at *Quaxule*, order'd me to make provision in this Town of *Maes* for two months, and I have filled twenty Granaries with the best that could be found in this Country. If your Lordship have not been receiv'd with the honour that is due to so great a Prince, I beg of you to consider my Youth, which excuses my fault, and to accept of my *W^m* which shall always be ready with a constant and sincere zeal to render you service. The Governour assured him of his gratitude and affection. The *Indians* of this Town had a great deal of Butter, or rather Sewer, in pots that run like Oyl; they said it was Bears grease: We found Walnut-Oyl there also, as clear as the Sewer, and of a very good taste, with a peece of Honey, though before nor after we found neither Bees nor Honey in all *Florida*. The Town stands upon the branch of a River that parts into two a Cross-bow-shot from the place, and unites again a League below. The Island or Land betwixt the two branches was at most two Cross-bow-shot over, and the Channel on each side pretty large, so that they might be foarded over

over the fields on both hands, being sowed with Rice : Seeing all the *Indians* staid in their Habitations, none but the Governour lodged in the Town, and the rest of the Army encamped abroad under the trees, without any order, the Souldiers being even at a pretty distance from one another. The Governour allowed, or at least connived at that disorder, because the *Indians* were peaceable, all quiet ; and to have done otherwise , would have incommoded us very much ; for the horse were so tired out that they were fit for no service, having had but very little *Maes* all the way from *Cutisachiqui*, and no leisure to recruit since the hardship they had sustained in the desert of *Ocute*: And seeing a great many of the Troopers were in no condition of fighting, they turned out their horses into the Pasture-grounds about a quarter of a League from the Camp. We were very happy that our weakness tempted not the *Indians* to fall upon us ; for all of us were but in a bad condition to make a defence. The Governour allowed us a full mouth to refresh our selves ; and during that time, the ground being extraordinary good, the horses grew wonderfully fat. When he was ready to march, some who pushed their desires beyond the bounds of Reason, importuned him so much that he demanded of the *Cacique* thirty *Indian* women for slaves : The *Cacique* told him, that he would communicate the matter to the chief *Indians* of the Habitation ;
but

but before he gave his answer, all the *Indians* in one night fled with their Wives and Children. The Governour resolved to pursue them, had not the *Cacique* come to wait upon him; he told him, that he appeared before him with a great deal of shame and confusion, because that his people being gone, though contrary to his will, he had followed them without daring to take leave of him; but that being sensible of his fault, he was come to deliver himself up to him as a faithful Subject ought to do: That his Subjects obeyed not him as yet, but his Uncle who governed the Country for him, until he should be of Age to manage the Government himself: That if the Governour had a design to find them out that he might punish them for their disobedience, he offer'd to serve him as a guide, seeing he was so unhappy as not to be able to render him other services. The Governour at the very instant set out with thirty Horse, and as many Foot, to go and find out the revolted *Indians*; and as he passed by the Habitations of the most considerable deserters, he cut down and destroyed all the *Maes* they had sown. He was conducted to a River which formed an Island, into which these people had retreated to avoid the attempts of the Horse: There he sent an *Indian* to bid them come back to their Habitations, assuring them that he would demand no more, but some of them to carry the Baggage, as all the other people had done;

done ; that since they had so great an esteem for their women, he desired none of them. The *Indians* embraced these proposals, and returned to the Town. In this place the *Cacique* of *Acoste* came to offer his services ; and as *Soto* asked him if he knew any rich and fertile Country, he told him that Northwards he would find the Province of *Chisca*, where they melted Copper, and another metal of the same colour, but much more lively and perfect ; that it was a metal which seemed to be more precious than Copper, but yet was not made use of, because it was softer. This relation agreed with what *Soto* was told in *Cutifachiqui*, where we saw some little Axes of Copper, which they said was mingled with Gold. But since to go from that Town to *Chisca*, there was a desert Country to be past, and that they told us we should meet with Mountains unpassable to the Horse, the Governour would not go to *Chisca* by the streight rode, but thought it better to take his way through a peopled Country, where the men and horses might better subsist ; and from whence being fully informed of the truth, he might divert his march towards that Province ; he therefore sent two *Spaniards* with an Interpreter and *Indians* that knew the Country to *Chisca*, to make discoveries and bring him back news at a place which he assigned them.

CHAP. XVI.

Fernando de Soto escapes a great danger in the Town of Acofte by his prudence: What hapned to him upon the way, and his arrivall at Cosa.

Soto being resolved to go to *Acofte*, sent for the *Cacique* of *Chiaba*, and took his leave of him, giving him some presents which satisfied him very much. *Acofte* is seven days journey distant from this Town, and we arrived there the second of *July*. The Governour made us encamp two Cross-bow-shot from the Town, whither he went with a guard of eight persons: The *Cacique* expressed a great deal of kindness to him, in outward appearance; and whilst they were in discourse together, some Foot-soldiers came to the Town to get some *Maes*; but finding it was not good, they fell a rifling and pillaging some of the *Indians* houses: The *Indians* startled at that proceeding, ran to Arms, and some of them with slaves and cudgels fell upon five or six of the most insolent Souldiers, and banged them soundly. Soto very well perceived the danger he had run into; he saw the *Indians* incensed, and himself amongst them with so few of his men, so that
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he resolved to get off by a piece of cunning contrary to his humour, for he was open and free, and disguised his passions as little as any man; besides that, he could not endure that any *Indian* should be so bold as to fall foul upon a Christian right or wrong; but sincerity was out of doors at that time: He therefore took a cudgel and ran to the assistance of the *Indians* in mauling the Christians, which exceedingly re-assured that people; but at the same instant he sent one to the Camp to order the horse to arm and advance; and having taken the *Cacique* by the hand, whom he entertained very affectionately, he insensibly wheedled him out of the Town, with a great many *Indians* more, until he came to an open way in view of the Camp: There the Troopers advancing in file, without any sign of what they intended, environed the *Cacique* and his *Indians*, whom they carried to the Camp, where the Governor caused them to be put into Prison near to his Tent; then he declared to them that they should not budge from thence, until they had given him Guides and *Indians* for service, and until some sick Souldiers who were coming in a Canoe from *Chiaba*, and those whom he had sent to *Chisca* were arrived. Those of *Chisca* came three days after, and told him that the *Indians* had led them through so barren a Country, and over such rough Mountains, that it was impossible the Army could march that way: That find-
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ing the way to be so long, and that it would have taken up much time, they had thought fit to come back again from a little Habitation, so poor that they found nothing fitting for use. They brought onely with them a Cows hide that the *Indians* had given them, which was an inch thick, and had hair as soft as the wool of an ordinary sheep. The *Cacique* granted Guides, and *Indians* for service, and so was set at liberty. July the Ninth the Army parted from *Acoste*, and marched to *Tali*; the *Cacique* whereof came to meet the Governour, and made him this discourse.

Most excellent Lord and Prince, worthy to be served and obeyed by all the Princes of the world, as may be judged by the Virtues which at first sight appear in you. It is not now the first time that I come to know who you are, and what your power is: And I will not consider my own meannesse when I hope that my services may be acceptable to you, seeing where Power is wanting, yet the Inclination and Will may be praised and accepted: That's the reason which makes me take the boldness to beg your Lordship that you would onely have regard to my desires, and think wherein I can serve you in that Country which is your own. The Governour made him the ordinary Compliment, that he was obliged to him, and that he would consider him as his own Brother. The Cacique caused two days Provisions to be brought to the Army; and at parting he gave the Governour four Indian women,
and

and two men, whom he needed for carrying of his Baggage. We marched six days in the Country of the *Cacique* of *Cosa*; and *Indians* came from him daily to Compliment the Governour, who at length arrived at *Cosa* on Saturday the Fifteenth of *July*; the *Cacique* met him two Cross-bow-shot out of the Town; he sat on a Cushion, and was carried in a kind of Litter upon the shoulders of four of the most considerable of his Subjects; his upper Garment was of *Martin* skins, made in the same fashion as the *Ladies* Mantles are in *Spain*; on his head he wore a kind of *Dia-*
dem of Feathers; and several *Indians* sung and play'd upon Instruments round the Charriot: He respectfully saluted the Governour, and spake thus to him.

Excellent and mighty Lord, above all the Lords of the Earth, though I come now to receive you, yet it is long since I received you in my heart; and since the day I came to hear of your Lordship, I have had so great a desire to serve you, and it would be so pleasant and satisfactory to me to do so, that all I can express here, is nothing to what I feel, nor no way comparable to it: This you may be assured of, that the Empire of the whole World would not so rejoice me, nor make me in my opinion so happy. Expect not that I should offer you what is your own; that's to say, my Person, my Country, and Subjects. I will onely make it my business to command my Servants, that with all the care and respect that is due to you,
they

they divert you by singing and playing upon Instruments till you arrive in the Town : There your Lordship shall be lodged, and served by me and my Subjects, and shall dispose of all I have, as of that which be longs to your self; wherein your Lordship will dome a singular favour. The Governour thanked him ; and so they entred the Town with extraordinary joy. The *Cacique* lodged the Governour and all the *Spaniards* in the houses of the chief persons of the Town. The Granaries were full of *Maes* and small Beans ; and the Country was so populous; that the Villages and fields sow'd with *Maes* touched one another : It is very pleasant, because of several little Rivers which make most lovely Meadows ; and in the fields there are a great many *Spanish* Plum-trees, as well as of those of the Country, with plenty of Vines upon the sides of the Rivers, whose stocks rise as high as the trees. There are others distant from the Rivers side, whose stock is low, and carry very large sweet Grapes ; but seeing there is no pains taken about them, there stones are of an extraordinary bigness. The Governour most commonly set guards over the *Caciques* to hinder them from running away, and he carried them along with him till he was gone out of their Jurisdiction, because their Subjects waited for them in the Villages, and furnished Guides and *Indians* for service ; but when he was about to enter into another Province, he sent them back again, as he did likewise

wise the *Indians* who of their own accord carried the Baggage, when he was come into the Territories of another *Cacique* that supplied him with new ones. In the mean time the *Indians* of *Cosa* could not endure that their *Cacique* should be kept under restraint; they made an Insurrection and fled into the Woods, not onely those of the Town, but also the Subjects of the other *Indian Cacique's* who payed Homage to the *Cacique* of *Cosa*. *Soto* sent four Captains to attack them in four several places: they took several *Indian* men, nay and women also, whom they put in Chains; so that these people finding how little advantage they had by flying, came back and told the Governour, that they were ready to serve him in whatever he pleased to command; whereupon at the entreaty of the *Cacique*, some of the chief were set at liberty; the rest were kept as slaves by those who had taken them, no more to return again into their own Country. Nor indeed did any of those who were put in Chains ever return again, if Fortune and the pains they took neatly to file off their Chain, did not restore them to liberty, or unless upon a march through the negligence of their guards they straggled away Chain, Baggage, and all together.

CHAP. XVII.

The Governour leaves Cosa, and goes to Tascaluca.

August the Twentieth we parted from *Cosa*, after twenty days stay there ; and the Governour according to his usual way, took the *Cacique* along with him as far as the Province of *Tascaluca*, whither he intended to go. Our first quarter was at *Tallimuchase*, a place abandoned, and next to *Itava* depending on *Cosa*, where we sojourned six days, by reason that the River which past by that Village was extream high. When the water was a little fallen, we continued our march to *Ullibali*, whence ten or twelve *Indians* were come in name of the *Cacique*, to offer obedience to the Governour: All of them had Bows and Arrows, with a great many Feathers about them ; and they waited on the Governour to the Town, which he entred attended by twelve Horse, and some foot. The *Indians* were all in Arms, and the Governour judged by their countenance that they had some bad design : we were informed afterward, that they were resolved to rescue the *Cacique* of *Cosa* by force from the Governour, if he had seemed to approve their design :

sign : The Governour made the rest of his men to march into the Town, which was fenced in. It is a little Town upon a small River, very well pallissado'd round, as all the rest were which we found farther up in the Country : The Palissado was of great stakes driven deep into the Earth, with poles of the bigness of ones arm cross-ways, both in the outside and inside, which were fastned with pins to knit all the work together, that was about the height of a Lance; but the *Cacique* was in a Town on the other side of the River. *Soto* sent for him, and he came without any resistance; so that after some reciprocal Compliments, he furnished us with *Indians* for service, whom we stood in need of, and thirty *Indian* women; There we lost a *Spaniard* called *Mancano*, of a Noble Family of *Salamanca*, who strayed in the Woods whilst he was a looking for Grapes, which that Country produces in great plenty. Leaving that Town, we found another, subject to the same *Cacique*; and from thence the Governour went to *Toasi*, where we also took *Indians* for service, and thirty women. Our march was commonly five or six Leagues a day, in Countri; inhabited; but in the desert, we marched as far as we could go, that we might not be streightned in provisions. From *Toasi* we marched five days in the Territories of the *Cacique* of *Tallise*, where we arrived the Eighteenth of September : This is a great Town lying upon

a very rapid River, on the other side whereof the fields were well cultivated, and covered with *Maes*, which that Country is plentifully furnished with: But seeing the *Indians* had abandoned their Habitations, the Governour sent word to the *Cacique* that he should come to him; which he did; and after many offers of his Services, gave forty *Indians*. In this Town one of the chief *Indians* of *Tascaluca* came to salute the Governour in name of the *Cacique*, and made him this discourse.

Most mighty and most virtuous Lord, the great Cacique of Tascaluca my Master, hath sent me to kiss your Lordships hand, and to let you know, that he is informed you gain the affection of all men by your Perfections, Power, and Merit; and that all the people of the Countries through which your Lordship hath passed, serve and obey you: This he acknowledges to be your due, and desires more than life it self to see you, and serve you; and for that reason he hath sent to offer you his Person, Country, and Subjects. So that when your Lordship pleases to come into his Country, you shall there be received, served, and obeyed, with all affection; and he craves no other reward for the desire he hath to render you services, but that you would do him the favour to let him know when you'll come; and the sooner you resolve to do it, your favour and his joy will be the greater. Soto received that Indian very civilly, and sent him back with a present of some trifles,
which

which he cared not much for, and another more considerable for the *Cacique*. He dismissed the *Cacique* of *Cosa*, and at *Tallise* took as many *Indians* for service as he stood in need of; so having refreshed in that place for the space of three weeks, he set out for *Tascaluca*. Our first quarter was at *Casiste*, and the next in another Town under the jurisdiction of *Tascaluca*, from whence we went and encamped in a Wood two Leagues short of the Residence of the *Cacique*; *Soto* sent the Camp-master-General *Louis de Moscoso* to acquaint him with his arrival. He found the *Cacique* under a Balcony before his door; presently a Carpet was spread upon an eminent place out of doors, with two Cushions upon it, one over the other, where he sat down, environed with *Indians* at some distance from the place where he sat; those of greatest quality were next him, one of whom to keep the Sun off of him held over his head an Umbrello of Bucks-skin of the bigness of a Buckler, and party-coloured black and white, with a St. *Andrew's* Cross in the middle; at a distance one would have taken it for Taffetay, the colours were so exceeding good: It was very well stretched out, and carried upon a Lance, being the device or Standard of the *Cacique* in time of War. This *Cacique* was much feared by his Neighbours and Subjects, and commanded a very large and well-peopled Country: he was of a very high stature, well shaped, strong limbs,

and a well-proportioned body. When the Camp-Master had delivered his Harangue, all the Troopers of his Retinue made a great many *Passades* in the Market-place, spurring their horses sometimes to the very place where the *Cacique* was, which he beheld with a great deal of gravity, casting his eyes onely upon them now and then in a most haughty and disdainful manner. In the mean time the Governour arrived, the *Cacique* not budging out of his place to go and meet him; *Soto* took him by the hand, and both went and sat down upon a bench under the Balcony, where the *Cacique* spake to him in these terms.

Mighty Lord, may your Lordships arrival be attended with all happines; I am as well pleased to see you, as if you were a Brother whom I extreemly loved: I need say no more as to that, seeing it is to no purpose to expresse in many words, what may be said in a few, insomuch as it is the Will which gives force to Actions, and Actions are the Evidences of Truth. As to the Will, you shall know by the fairness of my proceeding how sincere mine is. I esteem the favour you have shew'd me in sending me a Present, as much as it deserves, and especially because it is a Present from you. Look, now, what it is you would have me serve you in.

The Governour thanked him very civilly, but set spies over him so long as he staid in that Town; and when he was ready to be gone, he resolved, for many reasons, to take him along
with

with him. After two days march, we found the Town of *Piache* upon a great River, where *Soto* demanded *Canoes* of the *Indians* to carry over the Army. They told him that they had none, but that they would make rafts of Canes and dry wood, which they did in a very short time; and seeing the River ran very gently, we passed over with a great deal of ease. It is reckoned an hundred Leagues from the Port of the *Holy Ghost* to *Palache*, and that way runs from East to West; from *Palache* to *Cutifachiqui* there is four hundred and thirty Leagues, from South-West to North-East; and from *Cutifachiqui* to *Xualla*, the way is from South to North for the space of two hundred and fifty Leagues. In fine, from *Xualla* to *Tascaluca* which are also two hundred Leagues distant, one hundred and fourscore go from East to West as far as *Cosa*, and the rest from *Cosa* to *Tascaluca* from North to South. When we were got to the other side of the River of *Piache*, a *Spaniard* pursuing an *Indian* woman his slave, who had run away from him, was lost in the Woods, being either killed or taken by the *Indians*; whereupon the Governour told the *Cacique*, that he must be accountable for him, threatening to keep him in fetters as long as he lived, if the Christian were not found. The *Cacique* sent one of his *Indians* to *Maville*, a large Town on our way, belonging to another *Cacique* Vassal to *Tascaluca*; his pretext was good, for he said he sent to give him notice

tice to prepare Provisions and *Indians* of service for the Army: But it was apparent enough afterwards that that was not his design, and that the business of that Messenger, was to cause the *Indian* Souldiers muster into a Body, that they might fall upon us. We continued our march three days, the last whereof was through a very populous Country, and the Eighteenth of *October* we arrived at *Maville*. *Soto* had the Van-guard with thirty Foot-souldiers, and fifteen Horse. Near the Town he met a Souldier whom he had sent to the *Cacique*, to pray him to stay, and likewise to observe the motion of the *Indians*; the Souldier told the Governour, that they seemed to have some bad design, because whilst he tarried at *Maville*, he had seen a great many *Indians* in Arms enter the Town, and that they laboured with extream diligence in fortifying the Palissado about the place. Upon this, *Moscoso* told the Governour, that the best way would be to encamp, seeing the *Indians* appeared not to be submissive enough: but *Soto* replied, That he was weary of encamping, and that he would go and refresh himself in the Town. The *Cacique* at his entry received him with the sound of Instruments; and having offer'd him his Services, presented him with three Mantles of Martin-skins. The Governour made his entry in the middle betwixt two *Caciques*, followed by eight of his guards, and three or four Troopers, who alighted to wait upon

upon him ; so he went and sat down under a Balcony, where the *Cacique* of *Tascaluca* pray'd him to leave him in that Town, and not give him the trouble of going any farther ; but perceiving by *Soto's* discourse, that it would be hard for him to obtain his leave, he changed his design ; and pretending to go speak with some *Indians*, he left the Governour sitting in his place, and went into a house, where many *Indians* were assembled with their Bows and Arrows. The Governour perceiving that he returned not, called him several times ; and at length the *Cacique* made answer haughtily, That he would neither come out of that place, nor go any farther ; that if the Governour would depart in peace, he might in a good time ; but that he must not pretend to carry him out of his Country and Dominion.

CH A P. XVIII.

*The Indians rise against the Governour ;
and what hapned upon it.*

THE haughtiness of the *Cacique* made the Governour sensible that there was a Plot laid : He endeavoured to sweeten him by Civilities, to which the *Indian* made no answer ; on the contrary, with a haughty and slighting look he

he withdrew into a place where the Governour could neither see him, nor speak with him: *Soto* seeing another *Indian* of Quality passing that way, called him to him, and bid him assure the *Cacique*, that he would give him leave to be gone when and whither he pleased, provided he furnished him with a Guide, and *Indians* for service; but the *Indian* replied, That he would hear no proposition; which obliged *Gallegos* to take hold of him by the skirt of his Mantle, and the *Indian* to spring away from him, leaving his Mantle in his hands. Now seeing the *Indians* took to their Arms, *Gallegos* drew his Sword, and gave one whom he had taken hold of so furious a thrust, that he ran him through the breast; that blow was the signal to the revolt: They came running out of their houses all in fury, shooting Arrows at the Governour and those that were with him. *Soto* saw very well, that if he made head against them, there was no probability of escaping out of their hands; and if he caused his Forces to advance towards the Town, the *Indians* from their houses where they sheltred, would kill all their horses, and make a great slaughter of men; he therefore thought it best to run out of the Town with all the speed he could; but before he could save himself, he was fain to be taken up two or three times. All that accompanied him were dangerously wounded, and five killed upon the place. The Governour, wounded as he was, cried

cried to his men to keep off from the Palissado, from whence the *Indians* shot furiously; and as the *Spaniards* retreated, most of them running, the *Indians* sallied out upon them, killing with their Arrows all whom they overtook. The slaves who carried the Baggage had unloaded it in a place near the Palissado; so that during the rout of the *Spaniards*, the *Indians* of *Malville* loaded them again with the Baggage; and leading them into the Town, knock'd off the Chains they carried, and gave them Bows and Arrows to fight with against us. Thus they seiz'd all our equipage, and even our Pearls; and seeing we had marched through a Country that in all appearance had submitted, many Souldiers had left their Arms with the Baggage; so that they fell into the Enemies hands, who had, besides, Swords and Halbards which they had snatched from those who entred with the Governour. So soon as *Soto* was out of danger, he mounted on horseback, and with some other Gentlemen on horseback also, turning upon the *Indians*, he killed three with his Lance, which made them retreat behind the Palissado, where they defended themselves, and from whence the bravest sallied out when the horse were making their Caracol, and immediately entred in again so soon as they turned upon them. A Monck and Secular Priest, with one of the Generals Servants, and an *Indian* woman-slave, were still in the Town. The revolt

volt of the *Indians* was so sudden, that they had not time to get out, so that they were obliged to barricado themselves within the house where they were, making fast the door; and seeing they had a Sword, the Generals man standing behind the door, made thrusts at the *Indians* who offered to come in; and the Monk and Priest laying hold each of them of a staff, stood on each side to knock down the first that set his foot within the house. The *Indians* who saw the door so well defended, were got upon the roof to make holes in it, and to shoot them with their Arrows. When all the Army came in sight of *Maville*, they held a Council to deliberate whether they should assault the *Indians* in the Town, or onely besiege them, because the assault was very dangerous; but at length the assault was resolved upon in this manner.

CHAP. XIX.

The Governour draws up his men, and enters Maville.

SOto made those who were best armed to alight, whom he drew up into four Batalions, and marched streight to the Gates of the Town; this being done in sight of the *Indians*, their first care

care was to make the *Cacique* withdraw, telling him, as we were informed by some *Indian* slaves, that in such occasions a *Cacique* signified no more than another man, and fought onely for one; that in the Town there was a great many *Indians* to command, brave and expert Souldiers, and that one of them was enough to give the necessary orders; that seeing the success of a Fight depended on Fortune, it would not be known for what side Victory would declare, that therefore they prayed him to secure his Person, to the end that if they all died in the Battel, as they resolved to die rather than turn their backs, some might remain alive to govern the Country. The *Cacique* refused to be gone; but they pressed him so hard, that at length he left the Town accompanied with fifteen *Indians*, carrying with him a Scarlet Cloak, and the best things he found in the *Spaniards* Baggage. The Governour being informed that *Indians* were seen flying out of the Town, sent off a party of Horse to make the rounds about the circuit of the place, and in every Batalion placed a Souldier with a lighted fire-brand, to set all on fire, and so to oblige the *Indians* to fight abroad in the streets. Having so ordered all things, they gave the signal by a Musket-shot, and the four Batalions marched with extraordinary fury to their several posts. There was a fearful slaughter on both sides at the entry of the Gates; for the *Indians* defended
them

them so valiantly, that they beat our men back several times ; at length the Gates were forced, and we mingled *pell-mell* with them: The Monk and Priest were very opportunely relieved, but with the loss of two brave Souldiers who were the first who ran to their assistance. The Fight continued so long, that the Christians choaked with droughth, went to refresh themselves in a Pool near the Palissado, where they drank as much bloud as water ; and so returned to the Fight. This obliged the Governour, and those that were with him on horse-back, to enter the Town, where they charged the Enemy so briskly, that they put the *Indians* into disorder, and gave opportunity to the Souldiers to set the houses on fire. They that thought to save themselves out of the Town, were forced in again by the Horse that made the round ; so that despair giving them fresh strength, they came to blows again with the *Spaniards*: but that way of fighting was very disadvantageous to them ; for the Christians hewed them down with so much fury, that many of them threw themselves one upon another into the houses that were on fire, where they were smothered and reduced to ashes ; so that above two thousand and five hundred *Indians* perished by the fire and sword. We lost eighteen Christians, amongst whom were Don Carlos the Governours Cousin, and one of his Nephews, *John de Gomez* and *Mem Rodriguez*,
both

both Portuguese, and *John Vasquez de Villeneuve* of *Barcarora*, all Gentlemen of Quality and much esteemed; the rest were but private Souldiers. An hundred and fifty *Spaniards* were wounded in this Action, with seven hundred Arrow-shot; and God permitted that all of them in a very short time were cured of their wounds, though they were very dangerous. All our Equipage, Linnen, Cloaths, Pearls, and Ornaments for saying of Mass, were consumed by the fire, our men having no respect to that loss, since it was far less than the damage that the *Indians* might have done us by fighting under shelter. The Governour had advice in that place, that *Maldonado* waited for him in the Port of *Ochuse*, which was seven days journey distant; but he discharged *Ortiz* to divulge the news, lest it might be prejudicial to his designs: For since by the fire he had lost the Pearls which he intended to send to *Cuba*, by that ostentation to invite men to come over to *Florida*; he resolved to give no news of himself until he had discovered some rich Country, that he might not disgust the Souldiers whom he needed for compleating his Conquest, if they saw neither Silver, Gold, nor other Riches brought from those places.

CHAP. XX.

The Governour leaves Maville to go to Chicafa ; what hapned to him in that Journey.

FROM the time we landed in *Florida*, till we departed from *Maville*, we had lost an hundred and two Christians, some by sickness, and others fighting against the *Indians*. In consideration of the wounded, we were obliged to lie encamped three weeks near that Town, in a fruitful and populous Country ; for besides the fenced Towns, there were many scattered houses all about in the Country, distant from one another one or two Cross-bow-shot at most. The Governour finding that the wounded were almost cured, decamped on Sunday the Eighteenth of *November*, all the Souldiers having provided themselves of *Maes* for two days : nevertheless, we spent five in a desert Country, before we entered into the Province of *Pasallaya*. We found two Villages *Taliepatave*, and *Cabusto*, this last lying upon a great River, the opposite side whereof was possesst by the *Indians* ; they called to us that they would knock out the brains of us all, if we were so bold as to cross the River ; which obliged

obliged *Soto* to cause a great Boat to be built privately in the Woods, that the *Indians* might not come to know his design. It was finished in four days time, and the Governour order'd it to be carried down half a League lower on the River; there he put on board thirty Souldiers well armed; but when the *Indians* perceived his design, those that were nearest came running to defend the passage: They made some resistance till the *Spaniards* landed; but so soon as they marched towards them, the *Indians* retreated and threw themselves into swamps covered with Reeds. The thirty *Spaniards* mounted on horseback, and went down along the River, till they found a place where the Army crossed over without any difficulty. We found Towns full of *Maes* and dry Pease: from thence we marched five days through a desert Country, until we came to a River where the *Indians* offered again to dispute us the passage. But *Soto* avoiding as much as he could to expose his men to more engagements, in two days time caused another *Canoe* to be made, and sent one of his *Indians* to the *Cacique* to demand peace and his friendship: This did not succeed, for the *Indians* being up, massacred his Messenger before his face; and having done so, retir'd with loud shouts. So that the passage being free, we went to *Chicasa* the Eighteenth of *December*: It was a little Village, containing about twenty houses, where the Go-

vernour was obliged to pass the Winter, because it snowed, and the cold was already so sharp, that the Army suffered extreamly in the Camp, before they could find out means to make houses. This Country was well peopled, and full of scattered houses in the fields, like to those of *Maville*: We found abundance of *Maes* there, most part whereof was still upon the ground, so that we had enough for the whole Winter-Quarter. We took some *Indians*, and amongst others one who was much considered by the *Cacique*, and who persuaded the Governour to send word to the *Cacique*, that he desired to see him, and to treat with him. The *Cacique* complied, and came to the Governour, offering him his Country and Subjects, and promising to bring two *Caciques* more; who came, indeed, some days after very well accompanied. The one was called *Alimamu*, and the other *Nicalusa*: They presented *Soto* with an hundred and fifty Rabbits, some Mantles and Skins. The *Cacique* of *Chicasa* came often to visit the Governour, who sometimes sent for him, and lent him a horse to go and come to the Camp. This *Indian* complained to him of one of his Vassals who had revolted, demanding assistance against that Rebel, whom he intended to punish; which was a meer sham to make us divide our Forces, that so he might attack us separately. However, the Governour granted him that assistance; and when the *Cacique* came with
two

two hundred *Indians* in Arms, he accompanied him with thirty Horse, and fourscore Foot. They marched together to *Saquechuma*, which was the place of Residence of the *Indian* whom the *Cacique* pretended to be revolted: that Village was abandoned, and the *Indians* of *Chicasa* set fire to it, the better to disguise their Treachery; but the good order which the Governour observed on the march, being always upon his guard as well against the *Indians* who accompanied him, as against the Enemy; and the care that was taken to fortifie the Camp, hindred them from attempting any thing against us. *Soto* upon his return from that Expedition, entertained the *Cacique* and the chief of his Subjects at a Feast, where he gave them Pork to eat, which they had never tasted before, and which to them seemed so delicious meat, that from that day forward the *Indians* came every night to certain houses a Cross-bow-shot from the Camp, to steal and kill the Pigs that were there. Seeing they had, in this manner, carried some away, guards were placed to watch them, who surprized three *Indians*, two of which the Governour ordered to be shot to death with Arrows; the third had his hands cut off, and was in that condition sent back to the *Cacique*, who pretended to be much troubled that they had been so insolent, as to meddle with any thing that belonged to the Governour; he said that it rejoiced him to see that they were pu

shed as they had deserved. He lived retired into a Country-house half a League from the Camp, whither four Horse-men went one day without leave: These were *Francis Osorio*, *Reynoso* a Servant to the Marquess of *Astorga*, a Page and a *Valet de Chamber* of the Governours, called *Ribeyra*, and *Fuentez*. They brought away some Skins and Mantles by force, which so offended the *Indians*, that they left their Houses. *Soto* being informed of that violence, caused them to be apprehended, and condemned *Osorio* and *Fuentez* to death, as being the Ringleaders of the enterprize, and confiscated the Goods of all the four: All the Church-men and chief of the Army beg'd *Osorio's* life, and some mitigation of the Sentence, but he was inflexible; so that the Criminals were going to be led to the Market-place to have their heads struck off, when some *Indians* came from the *Cacique*, to make their Complaints to the Governour. The coming of the *Indians* which should have hastned their death, was that which saved their lives; for *Ortiz* put on by *Gallegos*, and some other persons of Quality, cunningly turned the sence of their discourse, saying to the Governour, that the *Cacique* had been informed that these men were apprehended upon his account, that nevertheless they were not guilty, since they had not offended him; and that if he would do him a favour, he would set them at liberty. On the other hand he assured the *Indians*,
That

That they who had wronged them were Prisoners ; and that the Governour would punish them in such a manner as should serve for an example to all others. So the Governour pardoned the men ; and being resolved to leave *Chicasa* in *March*, he demanded *Indians* for service from the *Cacique*. The *Cacique* made answer, That he would propose the matter to the most considerable of his Subjects ; and seeing the answer was long a coming, *Soto* went to pay him a visit on Wednesday the Eighth of *March*. He pressed him again to furnish him with *Indians*, whom the other promised to send next day : Nevertheless, the Governour observed that he was a hatching some mischief, and ordered *Moscoso* to keep a good guard all night, which he neglected. The Governours observation was but too well grounded ; for about midnight the *Indians* in four Batalions came to attack us in four several places at once ; and so soon as they perceived that they were discovered, they beat a Drum, which served them for a signal ; and with fearful shouts broke into the Camp at the same time that our Out-guards retreated thither ; nay, scarcely had those who were in the Village heard the noise of the Enemy, when one half of the houses were already all on fire. Three Troopers were that night upon the *Vedelte*, two of which were of low birth, and the least esteemed of any in the Army ; the third was a Cousin of the Governours, who till that day

had preserved the reputation of being stout; nevertheless, on this occasion he behaved himself as cowardly as his Companions, running away with them without so much as once running a Lance; so that the *Indians* entred without any opposition, and set all on fire, waiting for the Christians abroad, who came out of doors in disorder without having leisure to arm themselves; for being for most part as yet overwhelm'd with sleep, and blinded with the smoak, they knew not where to find their Arms, nor how to saddle their horses; nor could they see the *Indians* that pierced them with their Arrows. Several horses were burnt in the Stables, none escaping but such as broke their halters, and saved themselves in the streets: So terrible was the disorder, that every one thought of flying without making head against the Enemy; but God who onely chastizes his Servants to correct, and not to destroy them, and who holds them in his hand in their greatest necessities, and amidst the most frightful dangers, so blinded the *Indians* that they perceived not our disorder, but imagined that the horses which ran about the streets, were Squadrons drawing up to charge them. In the mean time there was none but the Governour that could get on horseback, who followed by a Souldier called *Tapia*, spurred up against the Enemy; *Soto* with the thrust of a Lance killed the first *Indian* he met, but seeing in the general surprise

prize and consternation care enough had not been taken to girt his horse, the violence of the tilt threw him off, with the saddle betwixt his legs. The rumour of the danger the Governour was in, spread immediately, which obliged a great many that were leaving the Village to go hide themselves in the Woods, to rally again and come to his assistance. And seeing it was still night, and that the *Indians* still imagined that the horses which they heard running, were coming to fall upon them, they gave ground, and abandoned the Town, leaving onely one of their number dead upon the place, who was killed by the Governours own hand. The Village was wholly burnt down, and a woman that followed her Husband perished in the flames, who having got out of the house with him, went back again to save some Pearls which she had preserved; but when she thought of getting out a second time, the fire was at the door before her, so that neither her Husband nor any body else could save her life. Three Christians more were so spoilt by the fire, that one of them died three days after, and the other two were for a long while unable to go, but forced to be carried a-bed in a kind of Litter born by *Indians*. Twelve Christians died on this occasion, with fifty horses and four hundred hogs which were burnt. All that we saved from the fire of *Maville*, was consumed in this: several who had not the time to take their Cas-

socks were reduced to their single Doublets, so that they suffered much by the cold which was very sharp ; and though we made great fires, yet we spent whole nights without sleep, because we were broiled on one side, when we froze on the other. For avoiding that inconvenience, a Souldier invented coverlets made of two Matts of withered grass fastned together ; they laid these coverlets one over and the other under them. This invention was laughed at at first, but at length the laughers themselves thought themselves happy when they could make use of them. We were in so great disorder, and so destitute of arms and saddles which were consumed by the fire, that had the *Indians* assaulted us once more, they might easily have defeated us. *Soto* thought fit to remove the Camp from the place where it was, to the house where the *Cacique* held his Residence, and where we found Ash-trees which we made into as good Lances as those of *Biscaye*. We found means also to make saddles ; so that in eight days time the Troopers were in a condition of doing service again.

CHAP. XXI.

The Indians return to attack the Spaniards, and are beat off. The Governour goeth to Alimamu, and the Indians in arms expect him on the way.

WE had already encamped eight days within half a League of our former Quarter, and had made a Forge to dress and new temper our Swords that had been spoiled by the fire; our Bucklers, Saddles, and Lances, being likewise fit for service, when on Wednesday the Fifteenth day of *March*, 1541. the *Indians* came to attack us a little before day. They were divided into three Batalions; but seeing our past danger had taught us wit, the Sentinels did their duty, and gave the allarm in good time: The Governour and Troopers were on horseback in an instant. He divided them into three Squadrons: and having provided for the guard of the Camp, charged the *Indians* so furiously that they could not stand it. Seeing the ground favoured the Horse, and that it was already day, we might have had a sufficient revenge on the *Indians* for their former assault, had it not been for a Monk that fell a crying with all his force very unseasonably, *To the Camp, to the Camp*: At that cry the Governour and his men hastned thither, and gave
the

the *Indians* time to save themselves, leaving only forty of their number dead upon the place : Some were taken , whom the Governour asked about the Country that was further before us, and on the Twenty fifth of *April* we went to *Alimamu* ; it was a small Village, where we found but little *Maes*. In the mean time, the Army being to march seven days through a desert Country , *Soto* sent out three Captains three several ways to seek provisions. *Danhusco*, who went with fifteen Horse and forty Foot the way that the Army was to march, met with a strong Palissado, where the *Indians* waited for us. He saw them walking with their Arms behind the Palissado, having their bodies almost all over painted with various colours, as black, white, blew, and red, laid on in streaks , so that they seemed to be in Doublet and Breeches ; some had feathers on their heads, others horns, and their faces made black, with the circuit of their eyes died red , that they might appear more terrible. So soon as they saw the *Spaniards* approaching, they fell a shouting , and with their Drums beating came out to receive them. *Danhusco* thought best to retreat to an open field within a Cross-bow-shot of their Palissado : he drew up his Foot with their Cross-bows and Bucklers before the Horse, to save his horses from being wounded, and so made head against the *Indians*, who sallied out by sevens or eights in company, to skirmish.

They

They kindled a great fire to the *Spaniards* view, and took an *Indian* by the head and feet, making as if they cast him into the fire, after they had knocked him on the head with a great club, to shew the Christians that they must expect to be treated in the same manner. *Danhusco* sent off three Troopers to carry the news to the Governour, who immediately advanced, and resolved to beat them from that post; saying, that if that were not done, they would take the boldness to attack us, when they might do us greater prejudice. The Horse alighted by his orders, and attacked the Palissado in four bodies. The *Indians* made a very good defence, till we came up to the Palissado; but charging them then briskly, they ran for it over a little River which they had at their back, and defended the passage with whole flights of Arrows; where seeing we could find no foard for the Horse, we were obliged to retreat. There were but three *Indians* killed, and many *Spaniards* wounded, of whom fifteen died some days after. This loss made the Governours Conduct be blamed in that he had not got the nature of the ground which was on the other side of the River viewed, and a passage found before he attacked the *Indians*. Because the hopes they had of making good their retreat that way, if they chanced to be beaten, made them obstinately maintain the fight, defend themselves, and anoy the Christians, without running great risk.

CHAP. XXII.

The Governour goes to Quizquiz, and from thence to Riogrande.

THough during three days space some little quantity of *Maes* had been brought to the Army, and that the wounded wanted rest, yet the Souldiers who suffered very much had still more need of victuals; so that the Governour was obliged to decamp to go to *Quizquiz*, and marched seven days through a desert Country full of swamps and woods; but where there was still horse-way, unless in some few places where they were put to swim. The *Indians* of *Quizquiz* had no intelligence of our march, so that we took them all in their houses, and amongst the rest the *Cacique's* Mother. *Soto* sent him word by an *Indian*, that if he would come to him, which he might do with all safety, he would restore to him his Mother and all his Subjects. To which the *Cacique* made answer, That he should first deliver his Mother and the other Prisoners, and then he would come and wait on him. Seeing the Souldiers were tired out and heartless for want of victuals, and the horses also in bad case, *Soto* resolved to give the Prisoners their liberty,

berty, to see if by that means he could oblige the *Cacique* to let him alone in peace; he therefore sent home the *Cacique's* Mother, and all the rest that were taken, having in very obliging words expressed the great desire he had of living in peace with them. Next day when the Governour expected the *Cacique*, we saw a great many armed *Indians*, coming with a design to attack us: all immediately armed; which the *Indians* observing, retreated to the side of a River out of the reach of shot. They consulted together about half an hour, and then six of the chief of them advanced towards the Camp. They told the Governour that they were come to see what kind of men they were whom he commanded; that they had learnt from their Ancestors that a white people should come and conquer their Country, and that therefore they would go and tell their *Cacique*, that he should come and offer his services to the Governour; so having presented him with six or seven Skins, and as many Mantles, they returned with all the other *Indians* that waited on them. In the mean time the *Cacique* came not, nor did he send us any more news of him; but there being no great store of *Maes* in the Town, the Governour made us march to another about half a League from *Riogrande*, or the great River; there we found as much *Maes* as we needed, and *Soto* went to view the River; he found on the sides of it a great deal of Timber fit for building
of

of Boats, and an advantageous place for the Army to encamp in, which he ordered to advance. We patcht up some houses in haste in a smooth level ground, about a Cross-bow-shot from the River, and thither we brought all the *Maes* that was in the Villages through which we past. Immediately we fell to prepare the wood that was necessary for the Boats; and whilst we were employ'd about that work, some *Indians* descending the River, came ashoar, and told the Governour that they were the Subjects of a great *Cacique* called *Aquixo*, who commanded a great many people in a very large Country on the other side of the River; That they were come in his Name to acquaint his Lordship that their Master would come to-morrow and wait upon him. The *Cacique* did, indeed, come, followed by two hundred *Canoes* full of armed *Indians*, painted after their way, and adorned with feathers of all colours, having shields in their hands wherewith they covered the Rowers; the rest with their Bows and Arrows stood fore and after in the *Canoe*. The *Cacique's Canoe* had a Pavillion in the poop, under which he sat; there were others also trimmed up in the same manner for the chief *Indians*, who sitting under their Pavillions, gave their orders to those who guided the *Canoe*. They put themselves in order, and advanced within a stones throw of the River-side; from thence the *Cacique* spake to the Governour who stood on the

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the shoar well attended, and told him, That he was come to offer him his services, and assure him of his obedience, because he had been informed that he was the most Potent Lord of the whole Earth. *Soto* thanked him, and prayed him to come ashoar, where they might discourse more commodiously together; to which the *Indian* made no answer, but ordred three *Canoes* to put in, which were loaded with fish, and bread made of paste of Prunes, or of the kernels of that fruit, and of the shape and bigness of a tile. The Governour accepted the Present, and importuned the *Cacique* to come ashoar. But seeing the design of the *Indians* was onely to watch for an occasion to surprize us, when they perceived that the Governour had put his men into very good order, they stood off from the shoar, and at the same time the Cross-bow-men, who were all in a readines, shot at them with loud shouting, and made five or six to fall. They retired in very good order, covered with their shields, and no man leaving his Oar, though he saw his Companion fall by his side. They landed several times afterwards to attack us, but so soon as we charged them, they hastned back to their *Canoes*. It was a very pleasant sight to see them in their *Canoes*, which were most neatly made, and very large, with their Pavillions, Feathers, Shields, and Standards, that looked like a Fleet of Gallies. In the mean time our four Boats being finished in thirty days time, the

Gover-

Governour chose three of them, which three hours before day he manned with twelve Troopers of tried Courage, who he was certain would die rather than turn their backs to their Enemies. Each *Canoe* contained four, defended by Cross-bow-men, with good Rowers to carry them over to the other side of the River. *John Guzman* who commanded *Maldonado's* Company, was in the other Boat with his men; and because the current of the water was very swift, he made them go a quarter of a League higher than the place where we encamped; so they passed over and landed just over-against the Camp. When they were within two stones throw of the shoar, the Troopers took the water on horseback, and landed in a place where the sand was firm: Finding no Enemies there, they easily landed, and made themselves masters of the passage. The Boats immediately returned back to the other side where the Governour was, who past over with the whole Army two hours before Sun-set. The River in that place was half a League over, so that a man could not be distinguished from one side to the other; it was very deep and very rapid, and being always full of trees and timber that was carried down by the force of the stream, the water was thick and very muddy. It abounded with fish, most of which differed much from those that are taken in the Rivers of *Spain*, as we shall etll you hereafter.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Governour goes from thence to Casqui, and from thence to Pacaha, where he finds a Country different from the other parts of Florida.

WHEN we had passed that River the greatest of all *Florida*, the Army marched a League and a half to a Town in the Province of *Aquixo*; the *Indians* had abandoned it, nevertheless the *Cacique* sent thirty to learn intelligence of our march and design. As soon as they appeared in sight of the Camp, the Horse made towards them, and the *Indians* dispersed and fled; but the Country being open and level, they were so hotly pursued, that two of them were killed, and fifteen taken, who were brought to the Governour. He had sent a Captain with Souldiers to bring our Boats up to this Town which stood upon the River; but seeing the course of it was not streight, and that it behoved us to turn a great many reaches before we could get to the Camp, the *Indians* who were acquainted with all the turnings and windings, and expert in that Navigation, many times attacked the Boats, and reduced us to great extremities; for we durst not

venture out into the stream which was too rapid, and standing in to the shoar, they skulked by the River-side and shot at us. No sooner was the Governour got to the Town, but he sent off all the Cross-bow-men, who came very seasonably to our assistance. When the Boats were come to the Town, he caused them to be broken up, and all the Iron-work to be kept for other occasions. The Army rested a night in this Town, and parted next day to go into the Prov¹nce of *Pacaba*, which according to the relation of the *Indians*, bordered upon the Country of *Chisca*, where that Metal was found which the Governour took to be Gold. On our march we found several great Villages abandoned by the *Indians*; nevertheless, we took some, who told the Governour, That three days journey from the place where we were, he would find a powerful *Cacique*, called *Casqui*: This made him hasten our march to a little River, which we crossed upon a bridge; but seeing the waters were out, the men marched till Sun-set up to the middle in water. At length we saw dry land to our great satisfaction, because we feared we should have been forced to pass the whole night in the water; and our joy hereupon adding to our strength, next day about noon we found the first habitation of the Province of *Casqui*. The *Indians* expected us not, which cost many of them their dear liberty. That Village we plundered, with another half a League distant, whi-

whither the Horse had advanced. The Land of this Country was the highest, driest, and evenest of any that we had found before we came to the great River ; the fields were covered with Nut-trees, whose fruit was of the shape of an Acorn, and we found store of them every-where in the houses, which the *Indians* had laid up for their Provisions : These Walnut-trees differed nothing from those of *Spain*, nor from those which we had seen elsewhere in that Country, but that their leaves were somewhat smaller. We found also a great many Mulberry-trees, and Plum-trees, whereof some bore red Plums like those of *Spain*, and others Plums of a violet-colour, different from ours, but of a far better taste. All these Trees were fair, and of as good a growth as those which are raised with care in Gardens and Orchards; for the Land yields but few rushes and bushes. The Army marched two days in this Province of *Casqui*, before we came to the place where the *Cacique* usually resided ; and the Country upon the Rode was so populous, that one of their Villages was as big as two or three in the other Provinces. The Governour sent an *Indian* to acquaint the *Cacique* that he was coming to see him, to desire his friendship, and to treat him as his own Brother. To which the *Cacique* answered, That he should be welcome, and that he would joyfully comply with whatsoever he should please to enjoin him. He added

to his words a Present of Skins, Mantles, and Fish; so that after these testimonies of mutual friendship, the *Indians* forsook no more the Villages through which we past, but in all places received the Army with gladness, and offer'd the Governour Fish, Mantles, and other presents. The *Cacique* came out of his Town half a League to meet the General, and spake to him in these terms.

Most High, most Mighty, and most illustrious Lord, may your Lordships coming be happy. As soon as I was informed of your Lordships Power and great Qualities, though upon your entry into my Country you killed my Subjects, and made them slaves, nevertheless I resolved to conform my will to yours, and to approve whatever you do, seeing I am wholly at your service; for I thought you must have had just reason to do so, upon good considerations, which are hid from me, but are known to your Lordship; since an evil may sometimes be permitted, for avoiding a greater evil, and for obtaining a good. I am apt to think it will prove so, because it would be to declare against reason, to be perswaded that the Generosity of so excellent a Prince does allow him to consent to any injustice. I have so little power to do your Lordship service, that unless you have some respect to my Will, which is disposed to obey you in all things, I can deserve but very little at your hands: But if it be reasonable that some value should be put upon a sincere Will, accept of it with my Person,
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Coantry, and Subjects, to be disposed of at your pleasure, since were I master of the whole World, I could not have a greater inclination to receive and serve your Lordship. Soto made answer to this discourse very civilly in few words, and then they entred into a Conference, wherein the *Cacique* very obligingly offer'd the Governour his house to lodge in ; but he excused himself that he might keep the peace, saying, That since the weather was fair and pleasant , he had rather lie in a Camp. So the Camp was pitched under trees a quarter of a League from the Town. The *Cacique* returned to the Town, and some time after came back with several *Indians* singing ; so soon as they came into the Governours presence , they all fell to the ground , and the *Cacique* made a discourse to him, whereof I shall onely relate the substance and subject. They brought with them two blind *Indians* , whom the *Cacique* presented before him ; saying, That since he was the Son of the Sun, and so powerful a Lord , he begg'd it of him as a singular favour that he would cure those two blind men, who at that instant rose up, and earnestly besought Soto to restore to them their sight. He told them that the Master whom he served, and who was above in the Heaven which they saw, had alone the power to cure them, and to grant them besides all that they demanded ; that he was the Lord who made the Heavens, the Earth, and Men, whom he had formed according

ding to his own Image and likeness : That he had been willing to suffer death upon the Cross for the Salvation of Mankind, and that the third day he rose again from the dead, having suffer'd death as man ; but that as God his Nature was immortal : That he had ascended up into Heaven, where his arms were open to receive all those that applied themselves to him. He then commanded a very high Cross to be made, which was set up in a rising place of the Town, telling the *Indians* that the Christians rendred it honour in remembrance of what JESUS CHRIST had suffered upon it for them. After the Governor and all the *Spaniards* had rendred their respects before the Cross on their knees, the *Indians* did the like ; and *Soto* told them, that they should continue to honour and adore it, and demand of that Lord who was in Heaven, all that they might stand in need of. After that, *Soto* inform'd himself of the *Cacique* how far it was from that Town to *Pacaha* ; he told him that it was a days journey, and that at the utmost bounds of his Country, there was a Lake which made a kind of a Gulf in the great River into which it fell ; adding, that he would send *Indians* to build a Bridge for the passage of the Army. The day we parted from *Casqui* we came to a Village of that Province, where we staid all night, and next day we came to the Lake, which was rapid, deep, and half a Cross-bow-shot over.

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The *Indians* had made an end of the Bridge when the Governour came : It was made of pieces of Timber in form of posts laid upon trees driven into the Lake ; and on the one hand they left a rank of stakes which stood up higher than the Bridge for those that past to hold by. The *Cacique* of *Casqui* came to us in this place with his *Indians* in Arms ; and the Governour sent an *Indian* to tell the *Cacique* of *Pacaba*, that though he was Enemy to the *Cacique* of *Casqui* who was with him, yet if he would stay for our coming in peace, he should have no injury done him ; and that if he granted him his friendship, he would treat him as his Brother. The Governours Messenger brought back word, that the *Cacique* had with contempt rejected the Offers that were made him, and that he fled with all his Subjects beyond the Town. *Soto* took all his Horse to go and pursue them, and many of them were taken in a Village a quarter of a League off. They were delivered into the hands of the *Indians* of *Casqui*, who led them to the Town with much gladness, because they were Enemies ; but it vexed them exceedingly that they were not suffered to massacre them. In this last habitation we found several Mantles, with the skins of Stags, Lions, and Bears, besides a great many Cats skins : And seeing the Souldiers were very ill cloathed, they soon found the means of Apparrelling themselves therewith. Of the Mantles they made close-

bodied Coats, Cassocks, and also Waste-coats, which they lined with Cats skins as well as their upper Coats; and the Stags skins they cut into Breeches, Doublets, and Shoes: the Bears skins served to make good Cloaks, because no water pierced them. We found also in that Town Bucklers of the raw hides of Cows, which the Troopers made use of for their defence.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Cacique of Pacaha comes and offers his service: Casqui withdraws, but comes again to excuse himself. The Governour makes them friends.

WEdnesday the Nineteenth of June the Governour entred the Town of *Pacaha*, and lodged in the *Cacique's* house, which was very large, and fortified with a Palissado and Turrets, wherein holes were made to shoot through. The Town was provided with old *Maes*, the fields covered with green, and in the compass of a League about the Town, there were a great many other very large ones, and all fortified. The Town where we quartered had a great Lake near its enclosure, the water whereof fell into a ditch drawn round the same close or fence, which en-
com-

compassed it almost all round : And the *Indians* had also made a Canal from the great River to the Lake ; by that means the River-fish came into it in great plenty, and the *Cacique* usually diverted himself at fishing. What quantity soever were taken, they were never missed, as we tried it with Nets that were in the Town. Several Lakes thereabouts were every whit as well furnished, but they were a softer kind of fish, than the fish that came from the River, and nothing near so good : they all differed from the fish of *Spain*. The fish which they call *Bagres*, is of an extraordinary shape ; the head of it is one third of its bulk, and about its fins and belly it hath great bones as sharp as a needle. Those which we took in the Lake were about the bigness of a large Pike ; but in the great River there were some that weighed from an hundred to an hundred and fifty pound weight, of which many were caught with the Hook. There are other fish that resemble a Barbel, and others again a Carp, with scales like a Roach, but of a colour somewhat browner ; these they esteemed most. We caught another sort of fish also, called *Pexe-palla*, the *Palat-fish* ; the head of it is covered with a kind of an elbow-hood, the upper point whereof is shaped like a Palet or Lingel ; others again resemble the *Alose*, and all had scales except the *Bagres* and *Palat-fish*. The *Indians* sometimes caught fish as big as a hog, which they called
Pexe

Pexe perco, and had several ranks of teeth above and below. The *Cacique* of *Casqui* sent the Governour Presents often, and told him one day that he would deliver up to him the *Cacique* of *Patacha*. He went to *Casqui*, from whence he sent up a great many *Canoes* by water, and came himself by land attended by several of his Subjects. *Soto* led them himself, accompanied with forty Horse, and sixty Foot, to a place where the *Indians* in the *Canoes* discovered *Pacaba* and his men, who were retreated into a little Isle. Five *Spaniards* went in a *Canoe* under the Command of Don *Antonio Osorio*, to view the *Indians* of *Pacaba*, and judge what number of men they might be: They were about five or six thousand, who taking all those that came in the *Canoes* for *Spaniards*, were so frightened that the *Cacique* and *Indians*, who were in three *Canoes*, fled to the other side of the River, and the rest cast themselves into the water with so much fear and precipitation, that though they could swim, yet many of them were drowned, especially Women and Children. The Governour who was on shoar not knowing what hapned on Don *Antonio's* side, put on board the *Canoes* of *Casqui* Souldiers to go into the Island, where they arrived at the same time Don *Antonio* did, and took several *Indians*, men and women, with a great deal of booty. These *Indians* had loaded much of their Goods in Paniers of Canes upon floats, to carry them
them

them to the other side ; but fear making them forsake them, the floats carried down by the current of the water , fell into the hands of *Casqui's* men, who filled their *Canoes* with them ; and fearing that the *Spaniards* might take their booty from them, went away (with their *Cacique*) without taking leave of the Governour. *Soto* was extreemly incensed at that, and returned immediately to *Pacaba* , from whence he made an incursion into the Territories of *Casqui* , and took twenty or thirty *Indians* ; having done so, he returned to the Town , because the horses were quite weary, but with a resolution to go and attack *Casqui* within four days. He set at liberty a Subject of *Pacaba*, and sent him to tell his *Cacique* , that he desired to be his friend, that he should come to him, and that they should go together and make War against *Casqui*. *Pacaba* immediately sent back several *Indians* , who brought one with them whom they called the *Cacique* ; but the cheat was discovered by one of *Pacaba's* Brothers who was Prisoner. The Governour told these *Indians* that they should bring their Master, since he knew very well that he who usurped his Name was not , and that no resolution could be taken, unless they took their measures together. So that the *Cacique* came accompanied with many of his Subjects, and made the usual Present to the Governour : This he seconded by a very fine discourse, which he concluded,

ded, That though his Lordship had done him so many injuries in wasting his Country, and killing his Subjects, without any provocation ever given by him, yet he could not forbear to be his most humble Servant. *Soto* set his Brother and the most considerable of his Subjects at liberty; and the same day the *Cacique* of *Casqui* sent an *Indian* to assure the Governour, that his Master would come next day and beg his pardon for the fault he had committed in retiring without his leave. To which he made answer, That if the *Cacique* did not come in person, he himself would fetch him, and punish him as he deserved. *Casqui* failed not to come, and began with a present of Mantles, Skins, and Fish, besides one of his Daughters whom he offered to *Soto*, saying that it was his greatest ambition to Allie his Bloud with so great a Lord, and that for that end he had brought his Daughter, whom he prayed him to take for Wife; thereupon he made a very long and judicious speech, full of the praises of the Governour, and concluded by begging his pardon for the sake of that Cross which he had left, in that he had gone away without his orders, being ashamed at what his Subjects had done without his consent. *Soto* answered that he had chosen a very good Patron; and that if he had not come to excuse himself, he resolved to have gone and put him, his Subjects, and Country, to fire and sword. To which the *Indian* replied: *My Lord, I and my*

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Subjects are yours, and my Country belongs to you, in doing so then you would have destroyed your own Country, and killed your Subjects; as for my self, I am ready to accept of any thing from your hands, whether it be punishment or favour: What I have already received from you in leaving me the Cross, is the greatest benefit that can be bestowed, and much above my deserts; for all our Maes had been burnt up by an extraordinary drought, had not I and my Subjects on our knees before the Cross prayed for Rain, whereupon our misery presently ceased. The Governour after that, resolved to put an end to the differences that were betwixt him and *Pacaba*, and made them both dine with him. The two *Cacique's* had a new contest, which of them should take the Governours right hand; but he agreed them, saying, That amongst Christians there was no distinction made betwixt the right and left hand, as to the place of honour, that they should do the like, seeing they were with him, and that every one should take his place as it fell. In the mean time he sent thirty Horse and fifty Foot-Souldiers towards the Province of *Caluca*, to find out a way from thence into the Province of *Chisca*, where the *Indians* had told him there were Copper-Mines, and Mines of that Metal which resembled Gold. These Souldiers marched seven days through a desert Country, and returned quite spent, having eaten nothing but green Plums and *Maes* in the blade, which they had found in

in a wretched Habitation of seven or eight houses. And indeed the *Indians* told the Governour, that farther Northwards the Country was for the most part unpeopled because of the cold; and that the Cows were in so great numbers, that the people could not preserve their Corn for them, but that they lived on the flesh of those beasts. *Soto* finding that that Northern Country was so barren and poor, asked the *Indians* whereabouts he might find a well-peopled Country; and they told him, that they had knowledge of a great Province towards the South, called *Quigate*, which was abundantly furnished with all sorts of Provisions.

CHAP. XXV.

Soto goes in search of the Province of Quigate, from whence he goes to Caligoa, and thence to Cayas.

THe Army lay in Quarters of refreshment for the space of forty days at *Pacaba*, where the two *Caciques* strove who should make most Presents to the Governour. When he was about to depart, *Pacaba* gave him his two Sisters, saying, That they were the pledges of his Affection, and that he prayed him to marry them, to the end he might always think of him: The
one

one was called *Macanoche*, and the other *Mochifa*, both handsome and well shaped, especially *Macanoche*, who had very good features, a pleasant countenance, and a majestick air; the other was somewhat more unpolished. The *Cacique* of *Casqui* caused the Bridge to be repaired, and the Army returned through its Country to its former Camp, near the *Cacique's* Town, who brought from thence plenty of fish, and two *Indian* women, whom he trucked for a couple of shirts: From thence we parted and passed by two other Towns of the Province of *Casqui*; and seeing the last lay upon a River, he sent for *Canoes* to carry us over, and having taken leave of *Soto* there, returned home. From thence we marched towards *Quigate*, where we arrived the Fourth of *August*; the *Cacique* sent a Present of Mantles and Skins, but durst not tarry in his Town. This was the greatest Town that we had seen in all *Florida*, insomuch that the Governour and all his people took up but one half of it: But *Soto* knowing that the *Indians* dealt not sincerely, he caused the other half to be burnt, for fear it might serve the Enemies for an entrenchment, from whence they might annoy us under cover; and gave the horse orders to be in a readiness to beat them off in case of an attack. At length an *Indian* came to the Town very well accompanied, and gave it out that he was the *Cacique*; which obliged the Governour to set guards

guards over him to observe him. In the mean time, many *Indians* brought Mantles and Skins; but when they found no opportunity of putting their bad designs in execution, the Mock-*Cacique* coming one day with the Governour out of his house, ran away so swiftly, that no Christian was able to overtake him, and threw himself into a River which he swam over, whilst a great many *Indians* on the other side shot at our men, and made terrible shouts. The Governour immediately crossed the River to charge them, but they staid not for his coming; and as he was in pursuit of them, he found a Town abandoned, and a little farther a Lake which the Horse could not pass. Several *Indian* women appeared on the other side of the Lake, which made the Governour send over the Foot, who took these women and a great deal of Baggage. *Soto* returned to the Camp, where the same night the Scouts took a Spie; the Governour asked him if he could guide him to the place where the *Cacique* was gone, and the *Indian* promised to do it: Whereupon *Soto* took thirty Horse, and fifty Foot, and marched to find the *Cacique*; after a day and a halfs march a Souldier met him in a very thick Wood, and not knowing him, cut him in the head with a sword, which made the poor *Indian* cry out that he was the *Cacique*, and begg'd that they would not kill him; so he was taken, with an hundred and forty of his Subjects, whom *Soto* brought to *Quigate*,
where

where he told the *Cacique* that he must send for *Indians* to serve the Christians: But having expected some days, and none coming, he sent out two Captains with Horse and Foot along the two sides of the River, who took several *Indians* men and women. They found thenthat theycould get nothing by their Rebellion but loss; so they submitted to the Governour, and came to receive his orders, bringing with them Mantles and Fish. The *Cacique* and his two Wives were kept under a guard of Halbardiers in the Governour's house, whilst *Soto* inform'd himself daily of the nature of the Country whither he intended to march the Army; and he learnt of the *Cacique* that going down the River towards the South, the Country was very populous, and governed by very powerful *Caciques*; and that towards the North-West was the Province of *Caligoa* at the foot of the mountains. The Governour and all the principal Officers, imagining that we should find a Country beyond these mountains of another quality than that where they were, and which might produce Gold or Silver, resolved to go to *Coligoa*. *Quigate* as well as *Casqui* and *Pacaba* lie in a flat Country, of a fat and fruitful soil, and amongst little Rivers that form fields, where the Inhabitants sow a great deal of *Maes*; from *Tascaluca* to the great River, we reckoned three hundred Leagues, and all that Country is low, full of Lakes and Swamps; and from *Pacaba* to *Qui-*
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gate it is six score Leagues. Soto left the *Cacique* of this last Province in his Town, and marched under the conduct of an *Indian*, that led us for seven days through a desert Country continually a-cross the Woods, where no way was to be found; but that which incommoded us most, was, that that Country was in a manner nothing but a Marish, where we were oblig'd to sleep amidst water. It was indeed very low, and so full of fish, that we killed them with our sticks; and when our *Indian* slaves stirred onely the water and made it muddy, they came up to the brim as if they had been giddy and stunn'd, so that they took as many as they pleased with their hands. The people of *Coligoa* had no intelligence of our march, and were so surprized to see us in the first Town, that they threw themselves in a crowd into a little River that past by that Habitation; but seeing the Christians came on both the sides, many of them were taken with their Wives, and the *Cacique* himself. Three days after, the chief of his Subjects came to wait on the Governour, with Mantles, Stags skins, and Cows hides, which they presented him with: They told us, that five or six Leagues from thence Northwards, there were great herds of these Cows, but that the Country was not much inhabited because of the cold; and that they knew no Province more plentiful and better peopled than that of *Cayas* towards the South. From

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Quigate to *Coligoa* it is almost forty Leagues, and this last Town lies at the foot of a mountain, and upon a River as big as the River of *Coya* in *Estramadura*; the Soil is fat, and bears so great plenty of *Maes*, that they are fain to throw away the old that they may have-store room for the new; it likewise produces Pease or small Beans, and Cucumbers bigger and better than those of *Spain*, and which being roasted on the hearth, taste like Chestnuts. The *Cacique* of *Coligoa* gave us a Guide to conduct us to *Cayas*, and abode still in his Town. We marched five days to *Palisema*, where the *Cacique's* house was hung with Bucks skins, so well died and wrought, that one would have taken them for good Tapistry, the floor also being covered with the same: The *Cacique* left all the furniture to accommodate the Governor, and to shew that he was inclined to peace; nevertheless he durst not stay for us himself, which obliged *Soto* to send a Captain in search of him. He met with a great many *Indians*, but it being a rough Country, could not apprehend any but women and children. Seeing there were but a few separated Habitations there, the Army made no long stay, but advanced to *Tafalicoya*: *Soto* took the *Cacique* of this Town to serve him for a Guide towards the Province of *Cayas*, which was four days journey distant. When he came there, and found the Habitations at a distance one from another in the Country, the *Cacique* ha-

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ving assured him that it was a very populous Country, he imagined that he had put a trick upon him; he threatned him sharply, asking what place they were in; but the *Cacique* and all the *Indians* affirmed constantly that we were in the Province of *Cayas*, that that was the best and most populous Town of all the Province; and that though the Habitations were scattered in that manner, yet there were many Inhabitants, and large fields sowed with *Maes*. That Town was called *Tanico*, and we encamped in the pleasantest place on the River-side; the Governour advanced a League farther with his Horse, and met with no *Indians*, but a great many Skins which the *Cacique* had left as a sign that he was not our Enemy, for that's the custom in that Country.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Governour goes to see the Province of Tulla; what happens to him upon the way.

THE Army rested a Month in the Province of *Cayas*; during which time our horses grew so fat, that they never were in so good case since the beginning of our Expedition: The *Maes* there being excellent good, and the straw better,

better, they eat a great deal of it without any danger; but the water of a Lake contributed also much to the fatning of them, which was so good and wholesome, that they could not get their bellies full on't, and fatned them to the eye. We had had no Salt till we came to that place, where a great deal was made, and where the Souldiers did not forget to make Provision: *Indians* trade in it with their Neighbours, and barter it for Mantles and Skins. They make it in cakes along the River-side, which leaves a great deal upon the sand when it overflows; and seeing they cannot make these cakes so long as it is mixed with the sand, they put altogether into baskets that are made for the purpose wide above and narrow below, which they hang in the air upon a pole, and throw water upon the sand that drops down into a vessel set under the basket, which afterwards they boyl; and the water being evaporated, the Salt remains at the bottom of the pot. There was a great deal of *Maes* sowed in the fields upon the sides of the River: But the *Indians* were afraid to appear; at length some ventured to come near the Camp, and were called to by the Souldiers, which gave them the boldness to cross the River, and come to see the Governour attended by his Souldiers. *Soto* asked them news of their *Cacique*; they told him that he desired to live in peace with him, but that he was afraid to present himself. The Governour

sent him word that he might come securely, and that if he would shew himself to be his friend, he should give him Guides and an Interpreter; otherwise that he would come and find him out, which would be to his ruine. *Soto* waited three days for his Answer, and seeing he came not, he went himself and took him with an hundred and fifty of his Subjects: *Soto* put the ordinary questions to him, If he knew of any good Country, and any great Lord? The *Indian* made answer, That the best Country thereabouts was the Province of *Tulla*, a day and a halfs journey distant towards the South; that he would give him a Guide to conduct him, but that he could not furnish him with an Interpreter, because the Language of the *Indians* of *Tulla* differed much from the Language of his Subjects; and that seeing his Predecessors and he had always been in War with the *Caciques* of that Province, they had no communication together, and understood not one another. Upon that information, the Governour set out with some Horse and fifty Foot-souldiers, to see if he could pass through *Tulla* with the Army; but so soon as they had intelligence of his march, the whole Country rose; and when fifteen or twenty *Indians* were got together, they set upon the Governour; but being paid off by the Horse, they got up to the roof of the houses, shooting Arrows from thence; and though they were driven from one post, yet they got upon another,

nother, and attacked the *Spaniards* on all hands That way of fighting lasted so long, that the horses could not make one step forwards: they killed one, and wounded some Christians, leaving fifteen of their own upon the place. We could not take any but about forty women and children; for the *Indians* that fought had no quarter given them, if they were taken: But the Governour fearing they might gather together in greater bodies, resolved to come back to the Camp at *Cayas*, and parted at night, keeping off of the high-way that he might disappoint the *Indians*. Next day he came to the Camp, where he staid threedays, and then with all the Army set out upon his march to *Tulla*. He took the *Cacique* along with him; but amongst all his Subjects there was not one to be found who understood the Language of the *Indians* of *Tulla*. After three days march we came to a Town abandoned; in the mean time, as soon as the *Indians* knew that we were entred into their Country, they came to attack us a little before day, in two bodies, and armed with Arrows and Poles after the manner of Pikes. So soon as they were discovered, we betook our selves to our Arms, and broke out upon them, to the loss of a great many men on their side, and onely a few Souldiers and Horses wounded on ours. *Soto* chose out six of the chief *Indians* from amongst the Prisoners whom he had taken, and having caused their right hand

and nose to be cut off, he sent them back to the *Cacique* to tell him, That if he obeyed not his Orders, he would find him out, and use him and all his after the same manner ; which he made them comprehend by signs the best way he could for fault of an Interpreter. Before three days were over, an *Indian* laden with Cow-hides, came and cast himself at the Governours feet, weeping, and shewing all the signs of an extream sorrow. *Soto* took him up, and the *Indian* made a long discourse which no body understood : They made him conceive by signs, that the Governour would have the *Cacique* to come, and that he should bring with him an Interpreter who understood the Language of the *Indians* of *Cayas*. Next day three *Indians* more loaded as the first was came to the Camp, and three days after twenty others, amongst whom there was one who understood the Language of *Cayas*. He made a long discourse full of reasons to excuse the *Cacique*, and expressions in praise of the Governour, and concluded with a protestation, that he and all the other *Indians* were come on behalf of the *Cacique* to receive the Governours Commands, and promise him Obedience. Nothing rejoyced *Soto* and all the *Spaniards* more than that Interpreter, seeing without knowing the Language, it was very difficult to proceed any farther in *Florida*. *Soto* ordered him to be kept with a great deal of care, and told the other *Indians* that they might return to their *Cacique*,

Cacique, and assure him that he pardoned all that was past, and that he took his Presents and Interpreter very kindly; that he would be very glad to see him, and that he might come next day. At length the *Cacique* came, attended by fourscore *Indians*, who all entered the Camp weeping bitterly, as a sign of their repentance and submission, according to the custom of that Country. They brought with them a considerable Present of several Cows hides, which were very convenient against the cold in that Country, because they made a good furr, the hair of them being as soft as sheeps-wool. These Cows are to be found in very great numbers to the Northwards of this Province, but we saw none of them alive, because that Country is barren, and almost a desert. The *Cacique* of *Tulla* made a speech to the Governour in his own excuse, and offered him his Person and all that he possessed. And here it is to be observed, that this *Cacique* and all the rest, as also all their Envoys, expressed themselves in their own Language, as elegantly as the most polite Orator could do in his.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Governour goes from Tulla to Autiamque, where he spends the Winter-Quarter.

SOto having enquired into the nature of the Countries about *Tulla*, was informed that the Country to the West had nothing but separate Habitations; but that betwixt East and South, he would meet with large Towns, especially in the Province of *Autiamque*, ten days journey distant from *Tulla*, which might make about fourscore Leagues, and that that Country was extraordinary fruitful in *Maes*. Seeing Winter drew on, and that the rain and snow would hinder our march for two or three Months, the Governour was apprehensive that we could hardly find provisions in these Habitations so remote from one another; and besides, the *Indians* said that near to *Autiamque* they saw a great Lake, and according as they talkt of it, we had ground to believe it might be an arm of the Sea. The Governour was very desirous to send advice to *Cuba*, and to get from thence a supply of men and horses, because it was already three years that neither his Wife nor any body else had heard what

was

was become of him ; nay besides, he had already lost two hundred and fifty of his Souldiers, and an hundred and forty Horses: All these reasons concurring, made him determine to pitch upon the Province of *Autiamque* for his Winter-Quarters, and to search for some Sea-Port in the Spring: His design was to have two Brigantines built there, which he would send one to *Cuba* and the other to *New-Spain*, to the end that if one of them should miscarry, the other might carry news of him to one or the other of these two Provinces. He hoped to make new Levies with the money that he had at the *Havana*, and carry on his discoveries Westwards, having not as yet proceeded so far as those places where *Cabesa de Vacca* had been. He sent back the two *Caciques* of *Tulla* and *Cayas*, and began his march towards the Province of *Autiamque*: after five days travelling over very rough mountains, we found an habitation called *Quipana*, where we could not take any *Indians*, the Country being too close for the horse ; however, that Village being seated amongst mountains, we laid an Ambuscade, and caught two *Indians*: They told us that *Autiamque* was six days journey off, and that to the South we would find another Province called *Guahate*, very plentiful in *Maes*, and extreemly well peopled. But the Province of *Autiamque* being the nearest, *Soto* continued his march, and came to the Town of *Anoixi*. A Captain marching

ching in the front of the Army with fifty Foot and thirty Horse, surprized the *Indians*, who expected no such thing as the seeing of us there, and took a great many Prisoners of both Sexes : Two days after, we found the Habitation of *Catamaya*, where we encamped without the Town. Two *Indians* pretending to be sent from the *Cacique*, came to observe our Countenance; and the Governour told them, that they should go and bid the *Cacique* come to him, without any fear of violence; but they came back no more, and we had no more news of them. The day following the Christians entred the Town, which was forsaken by the *Indians*; there they took what *Maes* they stood in need of, and without longer stay in that place, we went and past the night in a Wood, that the next day we might reach *Autiamque* : In this Town we found a great deal of *Maes* in Granaries, small Beans, Nuts, and Prunes, and all in great plenty; and we took some *Indians* that had staid to pack up their Baggage, for the women were already conveyed away to places of security : That's a Champion Country, and very well peopled. The Governour pitched the Camp in the place most inhabited, but at a distance from the houses, to avoid the fire that the *Indians* might put to them; and ordered it to be fortified with a Palissado of Wood : The ground was measured out by paces, that every one might work in that fortification

cation according to the number of slaves he had; the *Indians* brought the Timber, and the enclosure was finished in three days with high and great piles of Wood driven deep into the ground, and fastned with good cross pieces. The River of *Cayas* past by this Town, which was very large. Some *Indians* came from the *Cacique* bringing Mantles and Hides; and another lame *Cacique* of the Town of *Tieriquaque*, and Vassal to *Autiamque*, frequently visited the Governour, giving him many presents; however, the *Cacique* of *Autiamque* appeared not, but onely sent to know of *Soto* how long he intended to sojourn in that place: When he came to understand that he was to be his guest, for above three days he sent him no more *Indians* nor Presents, and was the cause also that the lame *Cacique* withdrew for good and all. Several parties were sent out, who took a great many *Indians* of both Sexes, and amongst the rest the lame *Cacique*; but the Governour having respect to the services which he had rendred him, onely checkt him a little, and then gave him his liberty, ordering him two *Indians* to carry him home upon their shoulders. *Autiamque*, whose sole design was to drive us out of his Country, sent out several Spies, one of which coming in the night-time to the gate of the Camp, was discovered by the Sentinel, who gave him a thrust with his Sword that made him fall; he was brought to the Governour, but expired

expired before any thing could be got out of him. The night following, *Soto* being willing to keep his men in a readiness, caused a false alarm to be given by a Souldier, who cried that he saw the *Indians*. He had made use of this stratagem in other places, when he observed any negligence in the guards, or in those that were out upon duty: and he very severely chid those who delayed to come to their Colours; so that all strove who should be first at their duty. We staid three months at *Autiamque*, having plenty of provisions, as *Maes*, small Beans, Nuts, dried Prunes, and Rabbits, which we had not as yet learned the way of catching, till we came to this place, where the *Indians* shew'd us how they took them in snares; and this was by a small string with a running noose fastned to a stick in the ground, into which the Rabbet running its head, hanged it self by the neck; and that it might not gnaw the string, it was put through a little cane. A great many were taken so among the green *Maes*, especially when it froze and snowed. The snow kept us a whole month within the Town, so that we could not go abroad: But seeing we began to be in want of wood, the Governour with all the horsemen mounted on horseback, and riding often to and again, pathed a way to a Wood distant from the Camp two Cross-bow-shot, whither the Foot went and cut fewel. In the mean time, our *Indians* who had their chains taken off, caught Rabbits

bets in their Snares, or shot them with their Arrows. There were two sorts of these Rabbits, some like those of *Spain*, and others which were indeed of the same shape, and had the same kind of wooll, but they were as strong and bigger than Hares, nay thicker and fatter too.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Soto leaves Autiamque, and goes to Nilco, and from thence to Guachoya.

WE left our Camp at *Autiamque* on Wednesday the Sixth of *March*, 1542. The Governour had a mind to go to *Nilco*, which according to the relation of the *Indians*, stood on the side of a great River; and his design was to fall down to the Sea, and expect the recruits that he had sent for; for he had no more than three hundred Souldiers remaining, and forty Horse, whereof some were lame, and good for nothing but to make a show in a Squadron; for above a year they had gone without shooes for want of Iron, but being accustomed to it, and marching upon soft ground, that did not much incommode them. *John Ortiz* died at *Autiamque*, which extreamly grieved the Governour; because having lost so good an Interpreter, he was afraid that he might engage himself in some Country where he and all his men might be lost, and the rather that now he had

had no other Interpreter but a young *Indian* of *Cutifachiqui*, who understood a little *Spanish*: The loss of *Ortiz* was a great cross to his designs, for it required sometimes a whole day before that young *Indian* could explain what the other would have done in four words, and very often also this last took what was said to him in a quite contrary sense, so that it hapned after a whole days march, that we were forced to spend two days in coming back the same way again, or in wandering in the Woods, not knowing whither we went. After our departure from *Autiamque*, *Soto* made us tarry ten days in the Province of *Ayays*, where we found a Town upon that River which passes by *Cayas* and *Autiamque*; *Soto* ordered a Boat to be made to carry us over the River, and we were forced after we were got over, to stay four days longer, because of snow and bad weather. The Army marched afterwards three days through swamps and such broken ways, by reason the Country is very low, that the Troopers themselves were many times up to the knees in water, and always to the stirrup, besides several places that they were forced to swim over. At length we came to the Town of *Tultelpina*, which was forsaken by the *Indians*, and no provisions left. A Lake that discharged it self into the River that passed by that Town; and it being very high, and running impetuously, a Captain and five Souldiers who ventured to cross over by the Governours

nours order, were overfet in their *Canoe*; fome fluck to the *Canoe*, and others to the trees that were in the Lake; but *Francis Bastien* was drowned, no body being able to help him. He was a Gentlemen of Quality born in *Villeneuve* of *Barcareta*. In the mean time *Soto* fought out a way along the fides of the Lake, but to no purpofe; fo that he came back to the Town, whither two *Indians* came, and taught him the means how to get over the Lake. We made rafts of Canes, and of the wood the houfes were built of, for croffing the Lake; and being over, after three days march we came to *Tianto*, which is the firft Town of the Province of *Nilco*; there we took thirty *Indians*, and among the reft, two of the greateft note. The Governour fent before two Captains with Horfe and Foot, to hinder thofe of *Nilco* from carrying away the Provifions out of their Habitations; and they paff by four great Towns, before they came to that where the *Cacique* had his Residence, though it was but two Leagues from the Camp where we were. Upon their coming they found the *Indians* in Arms as if they prepared to fight; nevertheless, when they perceived that the Chriftians came marching up very fiercely towards them, they fet fire to the *Cacique's* houfe, and fled away over a Lake near to the Town: the day following, being Wednesday the Fifteenth of *March*, *Soto* came to *Nilco* with the reft of the Army, which he quartered in the

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Town.

Town. That Country, which is very even, is so populous, that in the compass of a League about this Town, there are a great many very large Villages full of *Maes*, small Beans, Nuts, and Prunes; so that except *Cosa* and *Palache*, it was the most fruitful and populous Country that we had hitherto found in *Florida*. An *Indian* attended by some others came to wait on the Governour in name of the *Cacique*, and presented him with a Mantle of Martin-skins, and a string of large Pearls; and *Soto* requited him with a Collar of Mother of Pearl, which is much esteemed by the *Indians* of *Peru*, and some other trifles, wherewith the *Indian* seemed much satisfied. He came back two days after, but from that time forward we saw no more of him; on the contrary the *Indians* came in the night-time, and carried away the *Maes* in their *Canoes*, which they conveyed into Hovels built in a very thick wood on the other side of the River. The Governour seeing that the *Indian* came no more, as he promised, laid an Ambuscade near to some Granaries of *Maes* close by the Lake, where the *Indians* came to steal the Corn; two were taken, who told us that the *Indian* who came to the Camp was not the *Cacique*, but a *Spie* whom he had sent to discover our force, and to learn whether *Soto* had a design to make any stay in his Country, or if he intended to advance farther in. Immediately the Governour commanded out a Captain to cross the

the River ; but as the *Indians* perceived us in our passage, they forsook their Hovels, so that we could take but twelve, who were brought to the Camp. The same River that passes by *Nilco*, runs by *Cayas* and *Autiamque*, and it discharges it self into the great River that runs by *Pacaba* and *Aquixo*; they joyn near to *Guachoya*, the *Cacique* whereof came up the River to *Nilco* to make War with the *Indians* of that Country : This *Cacique* sent an *Indian* to the Governour to offer him his service, and to acquaint him that within two days he would come and kiss his hand. He came at the appointed time, accompanied with many *Indians*, and presented the Governour with Mantles and Stag-skins, in very civil and submissive terms. *Soto* entertained him and shew'd him much honour ; but having askt him what Countries lay lower upon the River ; he made answer, That he knew no other Town but his own, but that on the other side there was a Province governed by a *Cacique* called *Quigaltan*. After this Conference, he took leave of *Soto*, and returned home to his own Country. Some days after, the Governour resolved to go to *Guachoya* to know if the Sea was far off, or if he might not find some habitations, where we might stay commodiously till he had got the two Brigantines built, which he intended to send for recruits. The *Indians* of *Guachoya* who were coming up the River in their *Canoes*, perceived us passing it ; and imagining

that we had a design to attack them, they returned and acquainted the *Cacique*, that the *Spaniards* were coming to his Town. This put him into so great a fright, that in the night-time he carried away all that he could, and fled with all his Subjects to the other side of the great River. In the mean time *Soto* sent before a Captain with fifty Souldiers in six *Canoes*, and kept on marching with the rest of his men: He arrived at *Gua-choya* the Seventeenth of *April*, and he lodged in the Town, which was fenced, being a Cross-bow-shot from the River. In that place the great River is called *Tamaliseu*; at *Nilco*, *Tapatu*; at *Cosa*, *Mico*, and at the Haven, that's to say, it's mouth at the Sea, *Ri*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Which treats of a Message the Governour sent to Quigaltan; of the Answer he receiv'd, and of what happened thereupon.

AS soon as the Governour was come to *Gua-choya*, he commanded *Danhusco* to mount up the River in *Canoes*, because he had observed on the other side Hovels lately built. *Danhusco* returned from the Expedition with his *Canoes* loaded

loaded with *Maes*, small Beans, Prunes, and Bread made of Prune-paste. The same day an *Indian* came from the *Cacique* of *Guachoya*, to tell the Governour that his Master would come next day. The truth is, we saw a great many *Canoes* coming down the little River, which went ashore on the side of the great River opposite to where we were; there the *Indians* held Council the space of an hour, to deliberate whether they should come or not; at length all the *Canoes* came over to our side. *Guachoya* was there with many of his Subjects, carrying Fish, Hides, Mantles, and Dogs, which they brought along with them. They came to the Town, where they offer'd all these Presents to the Governour, and the *Cacique* spoke to him in these terms.

Potent and excellent Lord, I beg your Lordships pardon for the fault I committed in withdrawing, and not waiting for you in this Town, that I might receive and serve you; seeing the occasion of doing so, was, and it is still more acceptable to me, than if I had obtained a great Victory. I was afraid where there was no cause of fear, and therefore it was that I did which I ought not to have done; but seeing precipitation always produces bad effects, and I retired without knowing what I did: I am resolved not to follow the opinion of Fools, which is to persevere in their error, but to imitate the wise who take the best Council; I come to receive your Lordships Commands that I may serve you to the utmost

of my power. Soto having thanked him for his Presents and Offers, asked him if he knew any thing of the Sea; the *Cacique* said, that he knew nothing of it, nor of any other Habitation lower down the River, except the Village of an *Indian* Vassal of his; and three days journey further down the other side the Province of *Quigaltan*, the *Cacique* whereof was the greatest Lord in all these Quarters. The Governour thought that *Guachoya* disguised the truth to make him leave his Country, which obliged him to send out *Danhusco* with eight Troopers to make discoveries down along the side of the River, and to inform himself if the Sea was near. *Danhusco* was out eight days, and upon his return told the Governour, That during all that time he could not make above fifteen Leagues, because the River fetched great compasses into the Land in several places, and that the rest of the Country was full of swamps and very thick woods. Soto finding by that relation, that many obstacles withstood his finding out the Sea; and considering that his men decreased in number daily, without the hopes of any relief, gave so much way to these sad and melancholick reflections, that he fell sick upon it; however, he sent an *Indian* to the *Cacique* of *Quigaltan*, to tell him that he was the Son of the Sun, and that the *Caciques* of all the Provinces through which he passed, had offer'd him their services and obedience; that he asked his friend-

friendship, desired to have the satisfaction of seeing him, and that he would send him some Present of what was most esteemed in his Country, as a mark of his good will and submission. *Quigaltan* sent him answer by the same *Indian*, That since he boasted himself to be the Son of the Sun, he would take the pains to dry up that great River, and then he should be ready to own him for such ; that in the mean time it was not his custom to visit any body, but that all his Neighbours visited him, and paid him Tribute willingly or by force ; so that if he had a mind to see him, he should come over into his Country ; that if he came as a friend, he should be gladly received, or if he intended to make War, he would expect him in his Town ; and that neither he nor any man else should ever make him give an inch of ground. When the *Indian* brought back that Answer, *Soto* was already a-bed sick of a high Feaver, which was increased by his vexing that he was not in a condition to cross the River, and try to humble the Pride of that haughty *Indian*, though it was a very great River, being half a League over, and seventeen fathom deep, of a very rapid Current, many *Indians* on both sides ; and that, in fine, Cunning at that time was more useful to him than Force. The *Indians* of *Gua-choya* brought daily such quantities of fish, that the Town was full of them. The *Cacique* gave notice to the Governour, that *Quigaltan* was to

come and attack him one night, which the Governour lookt upon as a false alarm, to oblige him to leave the Town; however, that he might not seem negligent, he doubled his Guards, and ordered a good watch to be kept. *Quigaltan* did not come, and the Governour talked of it to the *Catique*, who made answer, That he did come, but that his Lordship having put all things in so good order, he was obliged to retreat. In the mean time, he daily importuned *Soto* to pass the great River, telling him that he would give him Forces enough to beat *Quigaltan*. The Governour assured him, that so soon as he were well, he would go in person to that Expedition: But seeing many *Indians* came to our Quarters, and that the Country was very populous; that besides, there were many breaches in the Palissado, which, it was not fit, should be stopt, lest the *Indians* might think we were in fear of them; *Soto* made all his Horse mount the Guard every night, who were upon duty at the Gates with bridle in hand, and from every Court of Guard two Troopers were sent out upon the *Patroulle*, and to visit the out-Sentinels, whilst the Cross-bow-men kept guard upon the River in *Canoes*, to hinder the *Indians* from assaulting us treacherously. The Governour also, that he might make himself more terrible to the *Indians*, thought fit to send a Captain to *Nilco*, whither those of *Guachoya* said the Inhabitants were come back; that

that by the rigour of the punishment he should inflict upon them, he might quell the boldness of both, if they resolved to attack him: For that effect he chose *Nuno de Touar* with fifteen Horse, and *John de Guzman* who with his Company was to go up the River in *Canoes*. The *Cacique* of *Guachoya* sent also many *Indians* in *Canoes* to this Expedition. *Touar* marched by Land, and staid for *Guzman*, who in the night-time came and landed two Leagues below *Nilco*. The Horse advanced first, and about break of day found an *Indian* Sentinel, who fled, giving the allarm with loud cries. *Touar* and his Horse fell on with so great fury, that they mingled with the *Indians* before they could get out of the Town. It lay in a Champion Country, and was at least a quarter of a League in compass: It might contain betwixt five and six thousand Souls. And seeing the poor wretches came running out of their houses in crowds, and pressed one another on all hands, hardly a Trooper but found himself alone amidst a great many *Indians*. The Captain gave orders that no quarters should be given to the men; and their consternation was so great, that not one of them had the courage to shoot an Arrow; so fearful were the cries of the Women and Children, that they stunn'd even those who pursued them. Above a hundred were killed, and many wounded with Lances, who were afterwards let go to terrifie the rest who were not present

present at the rout. Some Christians were so cruel as to kill even old men and children, who did not offer to make any resistance: But they who onely sought for opportunities to signalize themselves honourably, and who were known to be brave men, made it their chief business to break the *Indians* who rallied, by running them down with their Horses, and pricking them with Lances; and when any women or children came in their way, they delivered them over to the Foot. Those who to shew their Courage shew'd themselves inhumane, were punished for it by Almighty God, who suffered their crime to fall upon their own heads, if I may say so, by the base actions which they committed in view of the whole Army, on such occasions where Valour was seasonable, and at length by suffering them to die miserably. There were about fourscore women and children taken, and a great deal of booty: The *Indians* of *Guachoya* made a halt without the Town, and peaceably beheld the success of the Attack, that they might see what became of the Christians; but when they perceived that the Enemies were broken on all hands, and what execution the Troopers did with their Lances, they ran to pillage the houses; and having loaded their *Canoes* with plunder, fled back to *Guachoya* before the *Spaniards* left *Nilco*; and related to their *Cacique* what they had seen with no less dread than admiration.

CHAP. XXX.

The Death of the General Don Fernando de Soto ; Louis Moscoso d'Alvarado is chosen in his place.

THE Governour perceiving that his last hour drew nigh, sent for the Kings Officers, with the most considerable of the Captains and Gentlemen; he told them, that since he was going to render an account to God of what he had done in this life, and that his Divine Goodness in taking him out of this world, did him the grace to allow him his Senses to the last; though he was unworthy of that mercy, yet he most humbly thanked the Almighty for it; that he acknowledged he was exceedingly obliged to them all, as well present as absent, for the affection and fidelity they had shew'd towards him, which he had proved by all the misfortunes and pains they had so generously endured; that he had always wished he might have been able to have shew'd them his gratitude, by Rewards suitable to their Merit, had it pleased God to have settled him in a more happy condition; that he begg'd them to pray to God for him, that through his infinite mercy his sins might be forgiven, and his Soul received into Glory; that they would
take

take back the charge that they had given him, and which he resigned up into their hands ; and that they whom he might have offended would be so good as to grant him the pardon which he beg'd of them ; that to all his other Prayers he added this one more, That they would in his presence chuse some Person of Quality that might be fit to Command them in his place to the satisfaction of all ; to the end they might prevent the divisions that after his death might arise on that occasion ; and that having chosen one, they would take an Oath to obey him : That as that was the last favour he desired of them, so it would be the most grateful unto him , seeing it would mitigate his grief and trouble for leaving them in a barbarous and unknown Country. *Balthazar de Gallegos* being desired by all the company to answer this Discourse, began by motives of Consolation, representing to him the uncertainty and shortness of the life of man ; to what miseries it was exposed ; and that the sooner we left it, the greater was the mercy of God. He added many other edifying things, and at length said, that since it pleased God to remove their General, though it was a loss which they resented with extream grief, yet it was but just, nay and necessary, that he and all his should resign themselves up to his Divine Will : That as to the Person whom he appointed them to chuse for supplying his place, they prayed his Lordship to name him himself ;
which

which immediately he did, naming *Louis Moscoso d'Alvarado* his Captain-General. That nomination was approved by all, and they took an Oath to *Moscoso*. Next day, being the One and twentieth day of *May*, the Magnanimous, Virtuous, and Valiant Captain, Don *Fernando de Soto*, Governour of *Cuba*, and General of *Florida*, yielded his Soul to God. He had the same fate as many other great men have had, whom Fortune onely raises high to make their fall the greater. He died at a time and in a Country where his sorrow could receive but very little consolation ; every one stood in need of it for himself in the danger we were in of perishing in a Country which we knew not ; and seeing these were reflections that sufficiently took up the thoughts of all, *Soto* had not all the assistance which was due to him, and which we could have wished to have given him. *Moscoso* would have his Death concealed from the *Indians*, because Don *Fernando* had always made them believe that the Christians were immortal ; and seeing they had a great opinion of his Prudence and Valour , he wisely judged that his death might inspire into them thoughts of revolting, though they appeared to be submissive ; for it was good to mistrust their natural levity and inconstancy. Besides, as the ignorance of that Nation makes them receive for a truth whatever is beyond the reach of their knowledge , the late General had perswaded them, that their most secret

cret designs were 'not hid from him, though they could not conceive how that should be, and that his Image which he shew'd them in his Looking-glass, told him all their thoughts: being perswaded of that, they durst not so much as think of Rebellion. So soon as he was dead, *Moscofo* caused his Body to be put into a house, where it lay three days; after which, it was buried in the night-time near to one of the Gates within the Town. The *Indians* who had seen him in his sickness, and now saw him no more, began to have strong suspicions of his death; and when they passed by the place where he was interred, they curiously looked upon the ground, which seemed to have been lately dug, and talked to one another. This being told to *Moscofo*, he caused him to be deterred very privately in the night-time, and a great deal of sand put into the Mantles wherein he was wrapt; in this condition he was carried out in a *Canoe* to the middle of the River, and there sunk to the bottom. In the mean time, the *Cacique* of *Guachoya* daily asked news of *Soto*, whom he called his Lord and Brother, desiring to know what was become of him. *Moscofo* told him that he was gone about a little business up to Heaven, whither he was accustomed to go; and being he was to make some short stay there, he had left him to Command in his place. The *Cacique* making no doubt then but that he was dead, sent for two very handsome young

young *Indians*, and told the Governour, that it was the custom of his Country when any great Lord died, to put to death some persons to attend and serve him on his Journey ; that these young men presented themselves to render that duty to his Lord and Brother, and that he might freely cause their heads to be struck off. *Moscoso* made answer , That the Governour was not dead , but that he was gone to Heaven ; that among the Christians whom he Commanded he had chosen those who were to attend him, that he prayed *Guachoya* to send home the two *Indians*, and to renounce so damnable a custom. He set the *Indians* at liberty upon the spot , and ordered them to return to their houses ; but one of them refused to do so, saying, that he would not serve a Master who had condemned him to death without a cause, and that he would ever stick to him who had saved his life. The Governour's Goods were sold at an Auction, consisting in all in two Slaves and two Wives, three Horses , and seven hundred Hogs. The Slaves and Horses were sold at three thousand Crowns a piece, to be paid at the first discovery of Gold or Silver Mines, or at the first Plantation that the Buyer should have if we settled in *Florida* ; that if neither of these two cases hapned, the Buyer obliged himself to pay the Money within a year, and gave Security, at least those who had no Estate in *Spain* did. The Hogs were sold in the

the same manner for two hundred Crowns a piece: The truth is, they who had Estates in *Spain* bought but little, or had it at a cheaper rate. From that time forward most part of the Souldiers got Pigs, which they fed and eat of them on all days but Fridays, Saturdays, and the Eves of Festivals, which they observed according to the custom of Christians, a thing they could not practise before; for sometimes the Souldiers wanting flesh for two or three Months together, they eat meat when they could find it, without any distinction of days.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Governour Louis de Moscoso leaves Guachoya, and goes to Chaguata, and from thence to Aguacay.

THe Death of Don *Fernando* was not received by the whole Army with the same sence of sorrow; on the contrary some rejoiced at it, in hopes that the new Governour, who was inclined to devotion, would choose rather to seek repose in some Country inhabited by Christians, than to carry on the designs of *Soto*, in making new Conquests with so much fatigue, whereof they were already disgusted because of the small profit

profit they had made. Council was held to deliberate what was best to be done in that Juncture, and the Governour having taken exact information of the nature of the Country that was on all hands round us, he learnt that the most populous was towards the West; and that going down the River beyond *Quigaltan*, the Country was desert, and destitute of all sorts of Provisions. He pray'd all the Officers to give their Opinions in Writing, and to sign them, that it might be decided whether we should follow the course of the River, or cross into the Country: The general opinion was to march into the Country towards the West, because *New-Spain* was on that side; and that a Voyage by Sea was more uncertain and dangerous, insomuch that we could not build a Vessel strong enough to weather a storm; that we had no Master, no Pilot; no Compass nor Sea-Chart; that we were not very sure on what hand the Sea was, and whether the River did not make great turnings, or had Falls from Rocks, where the Vessel would be in danger of being lost. Some also who had seen Sea-Maps, added, That according as they could judge by the Latitude they were in, the Sea-Coast must be five hundred Leagues more or less distant from the Coast of *New Spain*. That so though perhaps the necessity of getting Provisions might make us ramble a little out of the way, as we went by land, nevertheless after we had marched all the Sum-

mer long, we might light upon some Country inhabited, where we might spend the Winter commodiously; provided the Army met with no great Defart that might hinder our passage: and that the Summer following we should undoubtedly come to some Country inhabited by the *Spaniards*: besides, that travelling by Land, we might perhaps find some Country that would enrich us all. Though it was the Governours design to get out of *Florida* as soon as possibly he could, yet he was obliged to conform to the general opinion, because of the inconveniences that were represented to him to be in a Sea-Voyage. So he left *Guachoya* on Munday the Fifth of *June*; the *Cacique* gave him a Guide to go to *Chaguata*, and staid at home in his Town. We passed through the Province of *Catalte*; and having crossed a desert Country, we arrived at *Chaguata* the Twentieth of *June*. The *Cacique* of that Province had been at *Autiamque* with the Governour *Don Fernando*, and made him a present of Mantles, Skins, and Salt. In the mean time, one day before *Moscoso* arrived in this Town, we missed a *Spaniard* who was sick, and believed that the *Indians* had killed him: The Governour sent word to the *Cacique* that he should cause him to be lookt after and sent back to him, and that by his care and diligence therein, he would judge of his Affection; otherwise, let him not imagine that he could avoid the resentment of the *Spaniards*, who would

pur-

pursue him and his Subjects into all places, and set all his Country on fire. The *Cacique* came immediately, bringing with him the sick *Spaniard*; and having made the Governour a great Present of Mantles and Skins, he told him, that all the Treasures of the World could not have oblig'd him to have had the thoughts that he was suspected of; that no constraint was laid upon him to come and wait upon the Governour his Father at *Antiamque*, and to offer him his services with so much affection and fidelity, that he should so soon fail in the duty which he owed to the goodness of *Soto*, without receiving any new injury; that no motive of interest could ever blind him so far. But since it is our fate that Crosses should succeed our Pleasures, Fortune thought fit to moderate the joy he had in seeing him, by the trouble he felt to find him angry with him, whereas he hoped to have done him service in bringing that sick Christian into his house to be taken care of, and in restoring him to him safe and sound; that if that action deserved a punishment, he would accept of it as a favour, being wholly devoted to the obedience of his Commands. *Moscofo* made him answer, that since he was not to be found in his Town, he could not forbear being vexed at him, thinking that he had fled, as many other *Caciques* had done; but that the testimony he gave of his affection and fidelity, obliged him now to love him as his Brother. The *Cacique* waited

on him to his Town, which was a days journey off: they passed by a small habitation where the *Indians* were making of Salt, wherewith the Christians provided themselves. They got it out of a Source like a Fountain-head, which was near to that Village. We staid six days at *Chaguate*, where the Governour inform'd himself of the nature of the Country that lay Westward: They told him, that three days journey from thence, he would find the Province of *Aguacay*: And the day we parted from *Chaguate*, *Francis de Guzman*, natural Son to a Gentleman of *Seville*, fled to the *Indians* for fear of losing a young *Indian* girl which he had and carried about with him, being apprehensive that she would be taken from him to satisfy some debts that he had contracted at play. The Governour heard nothing of this till after two days march, and sent to the *Cacique* to have him searched after, and sent to him to *Aguacay*, which the *Indians* neglected to do. The *Cacique* of *Aguacay* sent fifteen *Indians* to meet *Moscoso* loaded with Mantles, Skins, Fish, and roasted Venison. Wednesday the Fourth of *July* the Army arrived at his Town, and quartered there, it being abandoned: The Governour sent out some parties, who took several *Indians* of both Sexes; and in this place we came to hear of the South-Sea. The *Indians* made a great deal of Salt in this Town, which they formed into Cakes in little square Earthen moulds, and
prepa-

prepared it in the same manner as those of *Cayas* did.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Governour goes from Aguacay to Naguatex; what hapned to him.

THE same day *Moscoso* parted from *Aguacay*, he lay at a little Village which held of the *Cacique* of that Province; we encamped upon the banks of a salt Lake, from which we had Salt the same Evening. Next morning we marched, and spent the following night in a Wood that was not very thick, and from thence we went to *Pato*: At length on the fourth day after our departure, we found the first Habitation of the Province of *Maye*, where we took an *Indian*, who told us, that from thence to *Naguatex* it was but a day and a halfs journey more, which we made through a very populous Country. Saturday the Twentieth of *July*, the Army encamped on the side of a very pleasant Wood, betwixt *Maye* and *Naguatex*. Some *Indians* being observed to come and view us, *Moscoso* sent out a party of Horse, who killed six of them, and made two prisoners that were brought in to him: He asked them what they came to do,

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and they confessed that their design was to discover what number of men he had, and the seat of his Camp; that it was by order of their Master the *Cacique* of *Naguatex*, who was the same day to come and attack him, being assisted by two other *Caciques* that accompanied him. Whilst *Moscoso* was enquiring into the particulars of that Conspiracy, the *Indians* divided into two Batalions appeared; who finding that they were discovered, attacked us furiously in two places; but so soon as they saw we made head against them vigorously, they turned their backs, leaving many of their men upon the place. They were hotly pursued by all our Horse, who being at a distance from the Camp, were attacked by two other Batalions which made a kind of body of reserve, but they were as warmly received as the others were, and had no greater cause to brag of their temerity. The *Indians* were put to the flight, and the Christians rallied again, when of a sudden great cries were heard about a Cross-bow shot from the Camp. *Moscoso* sent off twelve Horse to know what the matter was; and they found six *Spaniards*, two on horseback and four a foot, surrounded by a great many *Indians*, where the two Troopers did all that could be expected of brave men in defending the four Foot-souldiers: They had lost their way in pursuing the *Indians* who made the first attack, and having rallied to return to the Camp, they fell into that company

of

of *Indians* who set upon them. Assistance coming in very good time, most of the *Indians* were killed, and onely one taken who was brought to the Camp. The Governour asked him who they were that attacked us; he said it was the *Cacique* of *Naguatex*, the *Cacique* of *Maye*, and a third very powerful in Lands and Vassals, who governed a Province called *Hacanac*; however, that *Naguatex* was the General. *Moscoso* ordered his nose and right arm to be cut off, and sent him in that condition to *Naguatex* to acquaint him that next day he would enter his Country and put all to fire and sword, and that if he would defend it, he should meet him at the entry into the Province. The Army rested that night in the same place, and the day following went to a Village of *Naguatex* where the houses were at great distance one from another. He asked where the *Caciques* Town was, which was shew'd him on the other side of a River that run near that place: We marched up to the River, and found the side opposite to us covered with *Indians* in arms, who seemed to be resolved to dispute us the passage. Seeing the Governour knew not the foard, and that he had men and horses wounded, he drew back the Army to the Town which we left, resolving to rest there for some days, that they might have time to be cured. So the Army encamped within a quarter of a League of the River, near a Town in a pretty

clear wood of very lovely and pleasant trees; and that place was pitched upon because the weather was very fair and calm. Some *Indians* were taken, who told us that the River was fordable at certain times, which obliged the Governour two days after to send off two Captains with fifteen horse and some *Indians* a piece to search for a ford, one up and the other down the River. The *Indians* appeared to defend the passage in both places; nevertheless the two Captains passed over in spite of the Enemies, and found on that side of the water a very populous Country, and plentiful in Provisions; whereupon they came back and gave the Governour an account of what they had done.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The Cacique of Naguatex comes to wait on the Governour; He parts from Naguatex, and arrives at Mandacao.

THE Governour sent an *Indian* to the Cacique of Naguatex to tell him, that if he came and offered him his service, and shew'd his repentance for what was past, he would pardon him; but if he failed, that the Governour would come and punish him according as his Treachery deser-

deserved. Two days after, the *Indian* came back, and told that the *Cacique* would come next day : Accordingly a great many of the principal Subjects of *Naguatex* appeared, being sent by their Master to observe the Governours looks, and the carriage of his men, that he might thereupon take his resolution : They onely told that the *Cacique* was coming, and presently returned. The *Cacique* came two hours after very well accompanied, his *Indians* marching in two Files, and making a lane for the *Cacique* to walk in the middle. They all came weeping according to the custom of the Province of *Tulla*, which is not far from thence to the Eastward. The *Cacique* made a low bow to the Governour, and beg'd pardon for what he had done, the thought of which alone, said he, deserved to be punished ; he enlarged much in the Governours praise, and in commendation of the *Spaniards*, whom he called immortal people, rejecting the blame of all the enterprize upon the bad Counsels of one of his Brothers who died in the Fight ; he concluded with the offer of his service and obedience. *Moscofo* answered, That he would pardon him what was past ; and that if he would for the future contain himself within the bounds of his duty, he should consider him as his friend. Four days after, the Army decamped ; but the River was so swelled that we could not pass it, which extreamly surprized us, seeing it had not rained for above a month before,

fore, and that it was Summer too; however, the *Wh*
Indians told us that it hapned so sometimes with *ceiv*
 out rain; this made us judge that that extraordi *of a*
 nary motion might come from the Sea flowing *our*
 into the River, because we were told that that *left*
 swelling always hapned in the waxing of the *wo*
 Moon; in the meantime none of these *Indians* *a t*
 had the least knowledge of the Sea. The Army *Mi*
 marched back the same way to the Camp we left *high*
 and we were forced to stay eight days longer till *a C*
 the water was low enough to let us pass: the *ger*
Indians were careful to give us notice of that: *for*
 and having crossed over to the other side, we *tha*
 went to a Town abandoned: The Governour *ple*
 pitched the Camp in an open field, and sent for *rat*
 the *Cacique* to come to him and give him a Guide; *W*
 but he not obeying, *Mosco* sent out two Captains *cic*
 with orders to burn the Towns, and take all the *his*
Indians they should meet with. These orders *a c*
 were strictly put in execution; the fire consumed *ser*
 a great deal of Provisions, and several Prisoners *ha*
 were taken: Then was the *Cacique* sensible of the *he*
 miseries he drew upon himself through his obsti *vi*
 nacy; he therefore sent six very considerable
Indians, with three Guides who understood the
 Language of the Countries we were to pass
 through. So we left *Naguate*, and at the end
 of three days march, came to a little Village of
 five or six houses; it belonged to the *Cacique* of
Missobone, a barren and ill-peopled Country.

When

the When we had marched two days longer, we perceived that our Guides led us out of the way, out of a premeditated and malicious design, changing our march from West to East, and that they had left the high-way and brought us into very thick woods: *Moscoso* caused them to be hanged upon a tree, and took for Guide an *Indian* woman of my *Missobone*; she made us turn back again into the high-way, and led us into as poor and miserable a Country as that which we had left. That beggerly Province was called *Lacane*; it hardly afforded us any thing but an *Indian*, who told us that the Province of *Mondacao* was peopled and plentiful in *Maes*, and that the Habitations separated from one another shew'd like mountains. We directed our course that way, and the *Cacique* came out to meet us weeping, as a mark of his submission; he presented the Governour with a considerable parcel of Fish, and offered him his services. *Moscoso* treated him very civilly; and having refreshed and made provision of Victuals, he took a Guide, and marched towards the Province of *Socatino*.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Governour leaves Mondacao, and goes to Socatino, and Guasco. The Army marches through a desert Country, and returns to Nilco for fault of an Interpreter and Guide.

After five days march the Governour found the Province of *Aays*, the Inhabitants whereof had no knowledge of the Christians; but the people being wild and savage, our entry into their Country caused a general rising. When fifty or sixty of them were got together, they came and assaulted us in our march, their numbers continually encreasing; and we had no sooner fought one company of them, but another began a new skirmish. This way of fighting lasted a whole day, till we came up to one of their Towns. We had some Souldiers and Horses wounded; but the wounds not being very dangerous, they followed the Army still; however, we made a great slaughter of *Indians*. When the Governour parted from this Town, the *Indian* who conducted us told him, that he was informed at *Mondacao*, that the *Indians* of *Socatino* had seen other Christians.

tians. These news extreamly rejoyced the whole
 Army ; for as men easily believe what they pas-
 sionately desire, we perswaded our selves that
 they might have been Forces come out of New-
 Spain; that if that conjecture were true, we
 might leave *Florida* when we had a mind to it,
 if we found nothing that might make us live
 happily there; and that fully dissipated all the
 fear we had of losing our selves in some desert
 Country. In the mean while, that was the thing
 that the *Indian* aimed at; for two days after, he
 led us out of our way: *Moscofo* ordered him to
 have some stretches with a Rope, which is a kind
 of Rack; whereupon he confessed that the *Ca-
 pitaine* of *Mondacao* his Master, had commanded
 him to ruine us, as being his Enemies, and that
 he was obliged to obey the orders of his Lord.
 The Governour caused him to be thrown to the
 Dogs, which tore him to pieces; and another
 guided us to *Socatino*: It was a very barren
 Country, where we hardly found any *Maes*.
Moscofo enquired if they had never had any news
 of Christians, and the *Indians* assured us, that
 they had heard say that they marched to the
 southward. That relation engaged us into a
 twenty days march through a desolate and un-
 peopled Country, where we suffered incredible
 hardship and misery; for the *Indians* buried in
 the woods that little *Maes* they had; and the
Spaniards were daily obliged after the fatigues of
 their

their march to rake in the woods that they might find out somewhat to feed on. We came at length into the Province of *Guasco*, where we found *Maes*, which we loaded on horses and *Indian* slaves, to maintain us on our way to *Nagisca*. It was the first thing the Governour did in all places to enquire about Christians; but the *Indians* told him that they had never seen any but us. He caused them to be put to the Rack, the torments whereof made them devise a story, which was, that the Christians had advanced as far as *Nacanabex*; but that they had gone back the way they came; that was a place but two days journey distant. The Governour hastned thither with all the Army, and at our coming we took some *Indian* women, amongst whom there was one who said that she had seen Christians, and that she had been their slave, but that she had made her escape. Immediately the Governour sent out a Captain with fifteen horse the way that the *Indian* woman directed, to see if he could find the tracks of horses, or any other mark. They were not gone four Leagues when the woman that served them for a Guide, told them that all she had said were meer lyes; and we discovered that the other relations which the *Indians* gave us concerning Christians, were of the same nature. So we came to *Guasco* extreamly perplexed, because the Country where we then were was barren, and there were no other Habitations

to the Westward. We again questioned the *Indians*, who told us that ten days journey that way from the place where we were, there was a River called *Daycao*, whither they went to hunt Stags that fed along the banks of it; and that they had seen on the other side of that River, people whom they knew not. We provided all the *Maes* that we could rap and rake, and marched through a desert Country as far as that River: *Moscofo* made ten horse cross over it, who marched for some time along the side of it, till they came to a Hamlet of *Indians*, consisting of some pitiful Cottages. At sight of the Troopers they fled, leaving behind them their Baggage, which shew'd their misery and poverty; so great it was that in all the Hamlet they could not find half a bushel of *Maes*. The Troopers took two *Indians*, and came back to *Moscofo*, who waited for them on the other side. He ordered these two *Indians* to be questioned, but there was not an *Indian* in the Camp that could understand their Language. Then did the Governour assemble all the Captains to consult with them what they had to do; most part advis'd him to return back to *Gua-boya* and the great River, because the Province of *Nilco* abounded with *Maes*; saying, that we might spend the Winter in that place, and make Brigantines to carry us down the River to the sea, where sailing along the Coast we might get to *New-Spain*; that though the enterprize wanted

ted not its difficulties, as it hath been already observed, yet it was our last refuge, because it was impossible to travel by Land without an Interpreter; that they believed the Country lying along the River of *Daycao*, was the same which *Cabesa de Vata* in his Relation says he passed through, and where the *Indians* were errant as the *Arabians* are, without settling in one place; and that they fed on Figs, the roots of Grass, and Venison: That supposing this conjecture to be true, if we engag'd into that Country, we must infallibly perish for want of food; that it was already the beginning of *October*, and that if we staid any longer, the Rains and Snow would hinder our return, and so we must perish and be starved in that miserable Country. *Moscofo* at that time had rather been in a place where his sleep might not be broken by continual allarms, than to be Governour and Conquerour of a Country where misery and trouble beset him on all hands; so that he adhered to that advice, and gave orders to return back the way to *Guachoya*.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Army returns to Nilco, and at Minoya Vessels are made to carry them out of Florida.

WHEN the result of the Council of War was published in the Camp, many were afflicted at that resolution; the way by Sea appeared to them to be no less difficult and dangerous, than by Land, because all things necessary were wanting, not onely for building, but also for rigging out of Vessels; and they had not yet lost all hopes of finding some Country rich enough to recompense them for all their labours, because of what *Cabesa de Vaca* had told the Emperour: and that was, that when he came into a Country where Cotton grew, he had seen Gold, Silver, and precious Stones of extraordinary value. And it was certain that we had not as yet gone so far in as those places where *Cabesa* had been; for he had kept along the Coast, and we had advanced up into the Country Westward: That we must needs find those places he spake of, because he said in his Relation, that he had marched for many days, and entred the Countries on the North-side. Besides that, we had found

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some

some Cotton-Mantles, nay, and *Tarqueiffes* at *Guasco*; and the *Indians* made us signs, that they had those things out of a Country Westward of them, and that that way led us also into the Country of the Christians: But, in fine, in spite of all them murmurings and frettings caused by this return; and though many had taken a resolution to perish in *Florida*, rather than to leave it in a beggarly and miserable condition, yet they wanted force to withstand what was determined, because the Governour's opinion concurr'd with that of all the chief Officers; but some time after one of the discontented said, That he would be glad to have one eye put out, provided he could put out one of *Moscoso's*, since it would trouble him extreamly to see him happy. *Moscoso* and his Friends had a mind to have been revenged for this discourse; but they durst not do it, because within two days he was to quit his place. From *Daycao* where we were, to the great River, it is a hundred and fifty Leagues, which we had marched all the way Westward. Our return was extreamly irksome, because the Country was ruined; and we had much ado to find Victuals, seeing the *Indians* hid them. The Towns of *Naguatez*, which to our sorrow we had burnt, were rebuilt, and the houses full of *Maes*; for it is a very fruitful and populous Country. They make Earthen-ware there, which differs little from that of *Estremos* or *Montemor*. When *Moscoso* came

came to *Chaguete*, he found some *Indians* deputed by the *Cacique*, to tell him that the Christian who had fled to his protection, would not come back. The Governour wrote to him, and sent him paper, pen, and ink, that he might give him an Answer. The Governour's Letter informed him of our resolution of leaving *Florida*; that therefore as he was a Christian, he ought not to trust himself in the power of the *Indians*, men without Faith and Religion; that he heartily pardoned the fault which he had committed, provided he returned to the Army, or signified in Writing whether or not he was detained by force. An *Indian* carried the Letter to him, and came back again without other answer but the name *Guzman* written on the margin of it, to let us know he was alive. *Moscoso* sent twelve Horse in search of him; but seeing that he had *Indian* spies that informed him of every thing, he hid himself so well that he could not be found. In the mean time we were so pinched for want of *Maes*, that the Governour was obliged to be gone without any farther search after him. We parted then from *Chaguete*, and crossed the River to go to *Aays*, and from thence following the course of that River, we found the Town of *Gilano*, which we had not seen before. At length we came to *Nilco*; but we found so little *Maes* there, that there was not enough to maintain the Souldiers during the time that was to be employed in building

ding the Vessels: The reason of that scarcity was, because we had been at *Guachaya* all the seed-time; so that the *Indians* of *Nilco*, scared by the evils they had endured, durst not come to sow their Lands: Besides, we knew of no other Country but this where there was *Maes*, and it being very fruitful, we wholly relied on it for our subsistence. We fell into a confusion that bordered upon despair; most part of the Souldiers blamed the resolution that had been taken in leaving *Guasco*, and not pursuing our discoveries by Land: They said that there was no hopes of safety by Sea, unless God would be pleased to work Miracles for them; for we had no Pilot, no Sea-
 Cart, and no body could tell at what place the great River fell into the Ocean. We wanted Sails also, and every thing that we could make them of; and though we had a little *Enequen*, which is an Herb they make a kind of Flax of, yet it was hardly sufficient to cawl the Vessels; but we were wholly destitute of Pitch and Tar, and they could not be made strong enough to resist the least storm without that, so that we must perish without remedy. This brought into our minds the misfortune of *Narvaez*, who was lost upon that Coast: But the most grievous inconvenience of all, was the want of *Maes*, without which it was impossible to subsist, and without food the Souldiers would not work. In this desolation we took the best course we could, which

was to recommend our selves to God, praying him to open some way for us, to let us out of those miseries: He graciously heard our Prayers, and permitted that the *Indians* of *Nilco* came very submissively; and told us that two days Journey from the place where we were, we should find upon the side of the great River, two Towns which we had not as yet discovered; that was the Country of *Minoia*; which was extraordinarily fruitful. The *Indians* added, that they knew not then whether there was *Maes* there or not, because they were at War with that people, and that they would be very glad to joyn with the *Spaniards* and fight against them. *Moscoso* commanded out a Captain with some Horse and Foot, and accompanied by the Forces of *Nilco*, they went to *Minoia*, and found two great Towns distant from each other half a League; in an open Champion Country; there they took several *Indians*, and found *Maes* in abundance. The Captain fortified himself in one of the Towns, and sent advice to the Governour of what he had done. Great was the joy all over the Camp, and instantly we parted. It was the beginning of *December*, and that proved as hard a march as any we had made since we left *Cilano*, because of the swamps we met with, and of the rains that fell with a North wind, so that we were wet above and below, and had great cause to give thanks to God, when we found a little dry place

to rest in at our journeys end. These fatigues killed all our *Indian* Servants, and several *Spaniards* also after we arrived at *Minoya*, few of those who survived escaping dangerous diseases, which degenerated into Lethargies: That Country-sickness was fatal to *Andrew de Vasconcelos* who died of it, and to two other *Portuguese* of the City of *Elvas* who attended him; they were Brothers, and went by the name of the *Satis*. The Army quartered in the better of the two Towns, which was fenced with a Palissado, a quarter of a League from the great River. Thither we brought all the *Maes* from the other Town, which amounted in all to six thousand bushels. In this place we found the finest Timber for building of Vessels, that we had hitherto seen in all *Florida*, for which we all thanked God as for a singular mercy, and some glimpse of hopes of getting once more into a Christian Country began to appear among us.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Seven Brigantines are built ; the Army departs from Minoya.

SO soon as our Quarters were settled at *Minoya*, the Governour ordered all the Chains of the *Indians* who were in the Camp to be knockt off, and all the Iron that was kept for a reserve, to be brought out : We set up a Forge for making the Iron-work of the Vessels, and felled wood to build them of. A Portuguese of *Centa* who being a slave at *Fez* had learned to sawe, taught some Souldiers the use of the Sawe, and a *Geneose* whom God had purposely preserved to save us, (for he alone knew the Art of building Ships, and had it not been for that man, we had been still in *Florida*) that *Geneose*, I say, being assisted by four or five Carpenters of *Biscaye* who prepared and fitted the Timber, undertook to build Brigantines. Another *Genoese*, and a *Catalonian* of the County of *Cerdagne* took care to cawlk them with that Herb I told you of, which resembles Hemp, and is called *Enequen* ; and when that failed them, they supplied the want with the thread of Mantles, which they purposely undid, and mingled it with fat Earth. We had with us a

Cooper, but he was sick to extremity, and he being the onely man of his Trade that we had, we were obliged to wait till it pleased God to restore him to his health; and though he was still very weak, yet fifteen days before our departure he made two large Casks for each Brigantine, such as the Sea-men call Hogsheds. The *Indians* of *Taguanate*, which is a Province two days journey from *Nilco* up the River, and those of *Nilco* also and *Guachoya*, seeing that the Brigantines went forward, were perswaded that we made them for carrying away their crop which they put into the water; nevertheless, they still brought us Fish and Mantles; which the Governour exacted from them for making of Sails. God was so gracious at that time, as to continue to us the marks of his protection, by moving the *Indians* to bring us in Mantles; for we had no means left to go and fetch them, because in the beginning of Winter the water had surrounded the Town, leaving but one League of dry Land around us; so that we could not go out on horseback, and without that it was impossible to reduce the *Indians*; for they were very numerous, and feared our foot so little, that they made no scruple to fight them hand to hand either by land or by water, because they are more dexterous in shooting, and nimbler than the Christians, the ground also being more proper for their way of fighting. They also brought some Ropes, of which

which we made Cables ; and when those failed, we made others of the rinds of Mulberry-trees. The Troopers made wooden stirrups, and gave their Iron ones to make Anchors of. In *March*, though it had not rain'd for above a month before, the River swelled so prodigiously, that it reached to *Nilco*, which is nine Leagues off on't ; and the *Indians* said that it spread as far on the other side. The Town where we were, stood on a height ; nevertheless, in the highest places the water reached the stirrups of a Trooper. We built high sheds of great pieces of Timber covered with boughs for stabling our horses ; and the like was done in the houses. But these not holding out the water, we were obliged to get up to the Garrets, and never went out of doors but in *Canoes*, or on horseback where the ground was high. We spent two Months before the River returned into its Channel ; in the mean time we kept a good guard about our Brigantines, and no *Indians* were any more suffered to come near them in their *Canoes* ; for the Governour began to have some suspicions, not without ground, that the *Indians* had a mind to rise ; so that he ordered that without any noise, one of those who came to the Town should be seized, and brought to him when all the rest were gone. The orders were put in execution ; and finding that the *Indian* would not confess any thing, he commanded him to be rackt. Then the *Indian* con-

fessed,

essed, that the *Caciques* of *Nilco*, *Guachoya*, and *Taguante*, accompanied with other *Caciques* to the number of twenty, had resolved to attack the Camp with a very great Army; that to mask their Treachery, they were to send him a great Present of Fish, three days before the Attack, and another Present the same day they had pitched upon for the Enterprize: That the *Indians* who brought the Fish, combining with those who served in the Camp, were to set fire to the houses of the Town, having first made themselves Masters of the Lances and other Arms that stood before the Souldiers doors: That at the sight of the fire, the *Caciques*, who were to be in ambush, would fall upon us with all their men, and surprize us in that disorder. The Governour ordered the *Indian* to be kept in Chains, and on the day he pitched upon, thirty *Indians* loaded with Fish came to the Town. They were presently apprehended, and *Moscoso* ordered the noses and right arms of all of them to be cut off, and in that condition sent them back to *Guachoya*, whose Subjects they were, with orders to tell him, that he and all his confederated *Caciques* might come; that he impatiently expected them, and that he should know the Governour was informed of all, even to his most secret thoughts. This example put them all into a strange fright, so that *Nilco* and *Taguante* came with great submission to justifie themselves, and some days after

and Guachoya brought another *Cacique* a Vassal of us; who had learnt of a certain, that *Nilco* and *Taguante* had really combined against the Christians; whereupon *Moscoso* caused some of the *Indians* of *Nilco* to be apprehended, who confessed the truth. They were delivered over to this *Cacique*, who put them to death without the Town; and next day *Moscoso* punished likewise some Subjects of *Taguante*, who also confessed the Treachery of their *Cacique*, to whom he sent them home without note or hands. This piece of justice comforted and fully satisfied the *Indians* of *Guachoya*, and from that time they came daily bringing with them Mantles, Fish, and Hogs, of which they had got a breed by the Swine which stray'd when we pass'd through that Country before. Nay, they egg'd on the Governour to make War with *Taguante* as soon as the waters were fallen, and offered to accompany him and serve him as Guides. He sent thither some Foot, whom the *Indians* carried down the River in their *Canoes*, and a Captain with Horse by Land, who attacked the Town. They made a great many Prisoners of both Sexes, and good booty of Mantles, which came very seasonably considering the want we had of Sails. At length, in the Month of *June*, the Brigantines were finished; and though the *Indians* had told us that the great River overflow'd; but once a year when the Snow melted, which had already happen'd, and

and that it was then Summer, when no rain had fallen for a very long time, yet it was the will of God, that it swelled again all of a sudden at new Moon, and, as I may say, came to find our Brigantines, which so were very easily launched, whereas had we been necessitated to carry them over-land, they would have been in danger of breaking, or bulging by the Keel, or somewhere else, the nails for want of Iron were so short, and the planks so thin. The *Indians* of *Minoya* came daily to serve us, not so much out of inclination as necessity, that they might gain somewhat to live on; for the Souldiers had seized all their *Maes*: And seeing their Country was very fruitful in that, and that they made most of their food of it, they being so numerous knew no what to get to eat. Those who came to the Town were so famished, that they were reduced to skin and bones, and many died for meer want. The Governour had severally discharged any *Maes* to be given to them; but the Christians, who seeing that even the Hogs had their bellies full, and that these poor *Indians* who came and took so much pains to serve them, and whose extreme misery they could not but pity, charitably gave them of the *Maes* they had; nevertheless, through their charitableness we had not *Maes* enough to put on board for the use of the Army. All that remained was put into the Brigantines, and the twelve great *Canoes* that were fastned two and

two together. First we put on board two and twenty of the best Horses, and then killed all the rest, whose flesh with that of the Hogs were dried. So the Spaniards parted from *Minoya*, the second of July, 1543.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Indians of Quigaltan attack the Spaniards upon the River, and the success of that Engagement.

ONE day before we went on board, it was resolved, that all the *Indian Men and Women*, who followed the Army, should be dismissed, except an hundred, whom the Governor allowed to be kept and Embarked. But there being a great many persons of Quality, whom he durst not refuse what he granted to others, he was obliged to come off with this Fetch; that every one might keep *Indians* so long as we were upon the River, but that they must all be sent back when we come to the Sea, because we had not Casks enough to hold fresh Water for so many people; In the mean time he gave notice privately to his Friends, that they should retain those whom they had, and carry them with them into *New Spain*: So they who were

were in bad terms with him, and who were not a few, sent back about five hundred *Indians* of all Age and Sex; amongst whom there were some young ones that spake and understood Spanish already. For being ignorant of the Mystery which time discovered to them afterward they thought it would be cruelty to take them along with them, and leave them so far from their own Country, in danger of being made Slaves by other *Indians*; and for the advantage of a few dayes service to reward them so ill for all the services they had rendered them. Most of these poor *Indians* went away weeping, which wrought a great deal of compassion in us, seeing so many Souls lost without remedy, that might have been saved, by instructing them in the Christian Faith, which with all their hearts they would have received. The *Spaniards* who parted from *Minoya* were in all three hundred and twenty two, in seven Brigantines, pretty well built, save that the Planks were a little too thin, because of the weakness of the Iron work that they were not well caulked, and that they were open without any Deck. Some boards were laid a-cross to serve for a Deck, that the Seamen might have convenience to Sail and work the Vessel; and that the Souldiers also might walk and take the air. *Moscoso* appointed a Captain for every Brigantine, and made them take an Oath to obey him, till we were come into

a Christian Country. He chose the best of all for himself, and so we fell down to *Guachoya*. The *Indians* expected us there in their *Canoes*, and had made a kind of a Hall covered with branches of Trees, where they intreated the Governour to come a shoar and refresh himself; but he excused himself, and continued his course. The *Indians* waited upon us in their *Canoes* as far as a branch of the River, which broke off to the right hand. They told *Moscoso* that the Province of *Quigaltan* was not far from thence, and they pressed much to land and make War against that *Cacique*, promising to assist us with all their force; but seeing they had told us before that that Province was three dayes Journey distant, the Governour thought they had a mind to betray him, and therefore dismissed them. So we continued our course by the largest branch of the River, which run very swift, making way a-pace with our Oars. The first day we put a-shoar into a Wood by the River side, on the left hand, and when night came, we Embarked again. Next day we landed near a Town which the *Indians* abandoned. There we took a Woman, who told us that the Town belonged to a *Cacique* called *Nubasene*, a Vassal of *Quigaltans*, and that *Quigaltan* expected us with great Forces. *Moscoso* sent some Horse down along the River side, who found great quantity of *Maes* in some Houses, whither the whole Army went,

went, and tarried a day, to put on board the *Maes* which we wanted very much. Whilst we were still in that Post, we saw several *Canoes* with *Indians* in them, who rowed down the Water, and being come to the side opposite to us, with some kind of confusion they drew up in order of Battle. The General sent off all the Cross-bow men in two *Canoes*, who dispersed the *Indians*; but when they saw that the *Spaniards* did nothing but disperse them without pursuing, they took heart, and drew nigh, threatening us. And so long as the Fleet continued in that place, they still kept within sight of us, some in their *Canoes*, and others on the River side. When we weighed Anchor they got on head of us, and joined all together near a Town that stood very high, upon one side of the River, as if they intended to stay and fight us there. Each Brigantine had a *Canoe* at her Stern, to serve when occasion offered. These *Canoes* were Manned with well-armed Souldiers, who dispersed that Body of *Indians* and burnt the Town. After that we went a-shoar in an open Plain, where the *Indians* durst not molest us; but next day they appeared upon the River, to the number of an hundred *Canoes*, amongst which there were some so great that they carried threescore and ten men. The *Cacique's Canoes* had their Pavillions, under which the *Indians* appeared, adorned with Feathers of several Colours,

hours, and they advanced in good order within two Cross-bow shot of the Brigantines. From that station they sent three *Indians* in a little *Canoe*, under the false pretext of a Treaty : But in reality to observe our order and strength. They were carried aboard *Moscoso's* Brigantine, to whom one of the *Indians* said, that the *Cacique* of *Quigaltan* his Master, had sent him to offer him his Friendship, and to assure him, that all that the *Indians* of *Guachoya* had spoken to his prejudice was false ; that they being his declared Enemies, the Governour ought not to give credit to their Impostures ; but believe, that *Quigaltan* was ready to serve him. *Moscoso* answered, that he was very well perswaded of the good intentions of *Quigaltan*, and that he should tell his Master, that he had a great esteem for him, and desired to be his Friend. The *Indians* returned with that Answer to their Master, and immediately they fell upon us with terrible shouts. The Governour Commanded out *John de Guzman*, with fifteen armed men in *Canoes*, to make head against the Enemy. The *Indians* made a stop at the sight of that Detachment, and divided into two, till the *Spaniards* were got betwixt them two Divisions. Then they joined, and shut in *Guzman* with the *Canoes* that had advanced with him, which they furiously engaged ; and seeing their *Canoes* were much bigger than ours, and that they jump't into the



Water

Water on all sides to hold them up, and to over-
set those of *Guzman*, they over-turned these in a
trice; so that those brave Men fell into the Wa-
ter, where they perished miserably, because of
the weight of their Arms that sunk them to the
bottom; and such as could keep themselves up
by swimming, or that stuck to the *Canoes* were
knocked down with poles. The Souldiers who
were in the Brigantines seeing that terrible dis-
order, did all they could to assist them; but the
rapidity of the stream rendered their Attempts
useless, because there was no rowing against it to
come up to the Enemy; so that there was but
four *Spaniards* saved, who swam to the next Bri-
gantine. They lost eleven, amongst whom *John de*
Guzman, and a Son of *Don Carlos* called *John de*
Vargas were much lamented; the rest also were
persons of Quality and worth. They who esca-
ped said, that they had seen some *Indians* carry
John de Guzman into one of their *Canoes*, but
whether dead or live they could not tell.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of the Headstrongness of the Indians in pursuing us during our course in the River.

THIS advantage made the *Indians* so insolent and fierce, that they came and attacked the Brigantines, which they had not the boldness to do till then. The first they set upon was that which *Caldeiran* commanded, and which was in the Reere. At the first discharge they wounded five and twenty men on board; for there were but four in that Brigantine that had Armour. These came to the sides to hinder the *Indians* from boarding; but they who had no Arms finding themselves exposed to the Arrow-shot, left the Oars and hid themselves under the Deck. So that the Brigantine fell across the stream, and would have been carried down by the Current, had not one of the Souldiers in Armour, without staying for the Captains Orders, made a Foot Souldier ply his Oar again, who set the Brigantine to rights, and kept her so, whilst the Trooper covered him with his Buckler, nay and with his Body too. The *Indians* came no nearer than their Bows

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shoot, from whence they did us a great deal of mischief, when we could do them no hurt, because there was but one Cross-Bow in each Brigantine, the rest being out of condition of serving; so that all the *Spaniards* could do was to receive their shot, and keep them from boarding. At length they left that Brigantine and attacked another, which they engaged for half an hours space, and so one after another they had a touch at all of them. We made double Mats well put together, and so strong, that an Arrow could not pierce them. And they who had so much spare time from the *Indians* shot, made a Target-fence along the sides of the Brigantines. These people being mad that they could not hurt us by shooting upon a level, shot their Arrows at random in the air, that falling down into the Brigantine, they might by their weight do greater Execution; and so they wounded some Soldiers. Their greatest efforts were against those that lookt after the Horses in the *Canoes*, which a hundred times they essayed to board; but the Brigantines defended them, turning round the *Canoes*, and at length put them into the middle of the Fleet. In the mean time that way of fighting wearying them so, that they could hardly stand under their Armour any longer. The Governour resolved to keep going all the night long, that he might pass the Province of *Quigaltan*, where he thought the Enemies would give

give us no more trouble. But they followed us on still; and when we imagined them far enough from us, and began to take heart again, they came upon us all of a sudden with such hideous shouting, that we were quite stunn'd with it: These allarms lasted all night long, and half next day, at which time the Fleet was past the Province of *Quigaltan*; nevertheless, we found no more ease for all that; because the former before they left us, recommended us to the *Indians* of that other Province, who presently came in pursuit of us with fifty *Canoes*. We were engag'd with them a whole day and a night; nay, they had the boldness to board one of the Brigantines which was retreating with its *Canoe* at the stern, out of which they took an *Indian* woman, and wounded some Souldiers. They who carried the horses in the *Canoes*, being weary of rowing so long a time, rested themselves sometimes; and then the *Indians* fell upon them immediately. This obliged the Brigantines to stay for them, which was a great hindrance to us, so that the Governour relolved to put ashoar, and kill all the horses; accordingly having found a place fit for putting that design in execution, we landed, and killed these poor beasts, that were dried as the rest were: There were but onely five or six left alive, which, so soon as the *Spaniards* were on board again, the *Indians* went ashoar to seize; but the horses defended themselves by kicking

and running from side to side, which put them into such a fright, that most part leapt into the water, and all got into their *Canoes* again to follow the Brigantines, which they mauled with continual shooting of Arrows. In that manner we spent that whole night, and until ten a clock next morning, about which time the Enemy left us. Then seven *Canoes* with *Indians* of a little Town upon the side of the River, came to continue the pursuit; but perceiving they did us but little hurt, they return'd to their Town; and from that time forward we met with no more Enemies upon the River. Our course continued seventeen days; wherein we made two hundred and fifty Leagues: the River at its mouth divides it self into two branches, each of which are at least a League and a half over.

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Fleet comes to the Sea; what besel the Spaniards before they put out into it, and in the beginning of their Voyage.

THE Souldiers being almost spent by so much fighting, and much more by the trouble of rowing, we resolv'd to go ashoar half a League from the mouth of the River, that they might have

have some days rest. They had other troubles upon them besides, occasioned by the scarcity of provisions ; insomuch that for many days they had nothing but a little *Maes* roasted or boiled in a pot, which was distributed amongst them by allowances, every mess of three having a Head-piece full, and but scanty measure too. As soon as we were encamped, the *Indians* came in seven *Canoes* to attack ours ; and at the same time other Enemies made up to us cross a swamp, armed with poles with sharp-pointed hooks made of a fish bone, wherewith they fought so vigorously, that after they had wounded some *Spaniards* with their Arrows, they closed with us ; but, at length, with much ado we beat them off. In the mean time the Governour ordered some Souldiers to go into the *Canoes* and make head against the Enemies : They waited for us till we were within bow-shot ; and then having shot, and wounded some Souldiers, they retreated as nimbly as a well-mounted Trooper clears himself when he is beset by Foot ; and rallying again they renewed the charge always within the reach of their own shot, and without the reach of ours : for though some of our Souldiers had Bows, yet they knew not how to use them ; and besides, their Arms were almost broken with rowing. The Enemy on the contrary expected them at their own ease ; and having made their discharges, they wheel'd about again, like Horse-

men a pickeering. Our men observing this, and that there was but little appearance to come up with them, nay and that those who had got nearest were very ill handled, thought it was enough to beat them off, and so returned to the Brigantines. We tarried two days in that place, and then the Fleet, following the Current of that branch of the River where we were, fell down to the Sea: The Governour ordered to sound to see what water we had in the Rivers mouth; and having found forty fathom water, he came to an Anchor, and called a Council, that all might give their Opinions as to the Voyage we were to undertake. The question was put, Whether we should direct our course streight for *New-Spain*, standing out to Sea, or Coast it along near the shoar. Opinions were divided; but the advice of *Danbusco* weighed most with the Governour, because he found others that concurred with him in the same Judgment. *Danbusco* was a man that presumed much on his parts and skill in Sea-Affairs, though his knowledge therein was backed by no experience: He alleadged to the Governour, that it was much more convenient to stand out to Sea, and cross the Gulf, than to keep near a shoar that made many Bays, seeing it would shorten our Voyage by three parts in four: Maintaining, That according to the Maps which he had seen, the Coast from the placewhere we were, to the River of *Palms*, bore East and West, and that

from

from that River to *New-Spain* it run North and South ; so that if we followed it, we should make a compass that would extreamly retard our Voyage, and put us in danger of being overtaken by the Winter, before we could come into a Country inhabited by Christians: Whereas if we had but any favourable wind, we might cross the Gulf in ten or twelve days time. But that advice was not at all approved by the better part of the Council: They said, that it was the far surer way to keep along the Coast, though the Voyage would be longer ; because our Vessels were very slightly built, and without Decks, which made them in danger of being lost, should we meet with the least storm ; that the risk was no less if we were becalmed or met with contrary winds, because we had but very little fresh water for want of Casks to put it in. And, in fine, though the Brigantines were strong enough to hold out a storm, since we had neither Pilot nor Compass to direct our course, it would be a rashness to cross over an unknown Gulf. That Advice which carried by pluralities of voices, was followed, and it was concluded that we should not stand off from the Coast. The Fleet being ready to set sail, the Cable of the Brigantine on board of which the Governour was, slipt its Anchor, and left it in the bottom of the water. And though we were near Land, nevertheless it could not be got up again by the Divers, because of
the

the depth of the River. *Mosco* and all that were aboard with him were extreemly troubled at this accident, and they were forced to take a Mill-stone instead of an Anchor, with some bit of that the Troopers had still reserved, which were tied to it to encrease its weight. Thus we put to Sea with a favourable wind, and in very fair weather, being the Eighteenth day of July. The Governour and *Danhusco* being on head with their Brigantines, kept out two or three Leagues at Sea; the other Captains bore up to the Governour to ask him if he designed to quit the shoar, which he ought not to do without acquainting them, seeing it was contrary to the resolution of Council; that if he would not follow it, neither would they follow him, and every one would make the best of his way, *Mosco* answered, That he would not undertake any thing without the advice of his Council; that he stood onely off from the shoar that he might sail with more security in the night-time, and that next day he would come in sight of it again when he saw his time. We sailed all that day and the next until the Evening with a fair wind, and all the while in fresh water, which was a surprize to us, seeing we were a great way from the mouth of the great River: but its Current being very strong, and the Coast low, it carries its fresh water a great way out into the Sea. About night we discovered a little Island like a Rock, where the

that the Fleet came to an Anchor to take a little rest. There *Danhusco* so prevailed by his reasons, that all the Officers consented to stand out to Sea. We followed that course two days; but when we had a mind to put in again to the shoar, we met with a contrary wind, so that the fourth day we began to be in want of fresh water. Every one cursed *Danhusco*, and the Governour too for complying with his advice; and all the Captains swore that they would no more leave the shoar, let the Governour take what course he pleased. It was the will of God that the wind veered about in a little, and four days after that the Fleet had stood out to Sea, all our fresh water being spent, we rowed in to shoar again with a great deal of difficulty, and went to land on the sand where there was no shelter. In the Evening the wind turned about to the South, and blew full upon the shoar, on which it forced our Brigantines. The wind was high, and our Anchors being but light and weak came home, so that our Vessels drove. In this extremity all leapt into the water by the Governours order, and stood betwixt the Land and the Brigantines, to keep them out in the water, until the wind abated.

CHAP. XL.

*A storm disperses the Brigantines ; the
joyn again at a Rock or little Island.*

SO soon as the storm was over, our men went ashore and dug pits, which furnished us with fresh water enough to fill the Casks of all the Brigantines. Next day we set sail again, and after two days came to an Anchor in a little Creek safe from the South-wind that blew at that time and was against us; it detained us four days in that place, till at length the weather being calm again, we rowed out; but towards the Evening the wind began to blow fresh, so that it forced the Brigantines upon the shoar. We were sensible then of our fault in leaving our Road; for the Sea began to swell very high, and the wind blew so hard, that the Brigantines could not keep company. Two of them that were on head of the rest, were forced into an Arm of the Sea that run into the Land; and the other five separated from one another a League or a League and a half, were cast upon a flat open shoar, not knowing where they were, nor what was become of the rest; the Sea being rough broke furiously upon that shoar, and the Anchors could not hold:

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The Oars signified nothing at all almost against the violence of the storm, though there were at least seven or eight men at each Oar to keep the Vessel in the water, which made all the rest jump over-board. When the wave that forced the Brigantine to land was past, they thrust her out again with incredible pain and labour, whilst the rest with bowls laved out the water that broke in to the Vessel. In the mean time the tempest was still encreasing, as our fears also of seeing our Brigantines, in which all our hopes lay, broken to pieces, when we were attacked by a far more insupportable calamity; for about night such a terrible quantity of Musketto's came about us, that we were all over covered with them; and their stings caused so sharp pains, that they seemed to be venomous. About break of day the wind ceased, and we had a calm, but the Musketto's continued as bad as ever, for they fell upon us in such numberless swarms, that our white Sails appeared all black; and the Rowers could not set their hands to an Oar, without somebody by them to beat off these Insects. However, we were so glad to see the storm over, that we laughed at the other inconvenience, when by day-light we could see one another with monstrous faces; and it was no unpleasant sight to behold how every one beat themselves to kill the Musketto's. All fell a rowing, and our Fleet got together again in that little Gulf where the two first Brigantines

gantines had put in to. There we found of that scum of the Sea called *Copeck* much like to pitch, which some indeed make use of instead of it for their Vessels, as we our selves did, having stayed two days in that place to re-fit our Brigantines. We sailed two days more, and came to an Anchor in a Bay where we stay'd as long; we sent out seven men in a *Canoe* to find out the bottom of the Bay; but they could not. The Fleet set sail with a South wind which was against us; nevertheless, seeing it was not violent, all were so desirous to make an end of our Voyage as soon as we could, that we employed our utmost endeavours to get out to Sea again. We advanced then for two days with little Wind and much labour, till we came to a little Island at the entry of an arm of the Sea. The weather that hapned after gave us good cause to thank God, for sending us into that safe Road: There were a great many fish thereabouts, which we took with Nets or the Hook; and it hapned that a Souldier having thrown in a Line, the end whereof was tied to his wrist, a fish swallowed the Hook and Bait with so much force, that it drew the man headlong into the water: by good luck he bethought himself of an Axe which he carried about him, wherewith he cut the Line, and swam back to the Brigantine. Bad weather kept us here a fortnight, and then it pleased God to send us a favourable gale, for which we rendred him our
most

most humble thanks, in a very devout Procession which we made along the shoar of that Island ; beseeching his Divine Majesty to guide us into a place where we might consecrate our Services to him with more zeal and tranquility.

CHAP. XLI.

The Spaniards arrive at the Town of Panico.

Fresh water is to be found by digging in the sand every-where on that Coast, which was a great convenience to us for filling our Casks. So after we had ended our Procession , we went on board, and run along in sight of land six days. *Danhusco* persisted still in his first Opinion, saying, that he had seen Maps, and remembered that that Coast bore North and South , so soon as one was past the River of *Palms* ; that hitherto we had steered from East to West ; and that so according to his judgment that River could not be far off. The Fleet stood a little out to Sea , and next day early in the morning we perceived at a distance some Palm-trees , which seemed to rise above the surface of the water , and we observed that that Coast lay North and South. At noon we began to discover very high mountains, which

we

we had not seen before, because from the Port of the *Holy Ghost* to that place, the Land is low and level, so that it cannot be seen but very near. These remarks made us believe that we had pass'd the River of *Palms* in the night-time, and we knew very well that it was but threescore Leagues from the River of *Panico*: But others alleadged that we ought not to lose so good weather, and that *Panico* could not be so near that we should fear to pass it in one nights sailing. However, we resolved at length to spare sail and keep on our course; all the Fleet did so except two Brigantines, which making what sail they could, were by break of day got beyond *Panico* without seeing it; but the Captains of the five other Brigantines that were in the reer, were wiser and more fortunate. The first Brigantine that discovered the River was Captain *Caldeiran's*; they were within a quarter of a League without discovering it, when perceiving the water thick, they tasted it, and found it to be fresh; then they advanced towards the mouth of the River, where the water broke upon a bank of sand at the entry into it. No body knowing what River it was, they consulted together what was best to be done if they should put in, or keep on their course forwards; at length they resolved to enter in, rowing close by the shoar to avoid the Current, and so they found a Harbour. As they put into it they observed some *Indians* cloathed

after

after the *Spanish* fashion, which gave them the boldness to ask them what Country they were in. The *Indians* answered in *Spanish*, that they were in the River of *Panico*, and that the Town was fifteen Leagues off. It is not to be exprest with what joy they received those glad tidings; their Birth-day seemed not to them so happy a day as that was: They leaped ashoar, and kist it a thousand times, lifting up their eyes and hands to Heaven to thank God for the favour he had bestowed upon them. The Souldiers of the Brigantines that followed *Caldeiran's*, perceiving that he entered the River, steered the same course, and arrived at the Harbour; but those who were on board the other two Brigantines, had not the same fortune. When they found that the rest did not follow, they tackt about to look after them, but the wind was contrary, and the Sea so rough, that they were forced to come to an Anchor near the shoar. In that place they were tossed with so furious a storm, that finding they could not weather it neither at Sea nor in that station, they took the course to run ashoar; And seeing the Brigantines were light and drew little water, and that that shoar was low and of a soft sand, the wind drove them on dry ground without any hurt to the Vessels, or to those that were in them. So that whilst the *Spaniards* who were in the Harbour, tasted pleasures which cannot be exprest, these were over-whelmed with

grief and trouble, seeing they knew not what was become of their Companions, nor whether Fortune had cast them into a Country, where they should meet with savage people and Enemies to the *Spaniards*. They were shipwrackt two Leagues below the Harbour; and so soon as they found themselves out of danger, every one packed up what he was able to carry, and so advanced up into the Country; at length they met with *Indians*, who told them where they were, which turned their sadness into extraordinary joy, and they thanked God, as it was their duty, for delivering them out of so many miseries and dangers.

CHAP. XLII.

The Spaniards go to Panico, and in what manner the Inhabitants received them.

OUR Voyage lasted fifty days from the mouth of the great River in *Florida*, to the mouth of the River of *Panico*, into which we entred the Tenth of *September*, 1543. We spent four days ingoing up the River with our Brigantines; but the wind being low, and not very useful to us because of the compasses which that River fetches, so that we were many times obliged to tow them up, the passage was so tedious and toilsome, that we left the Brigantines to the care of the Seamen, and went by Land to *Panico*, being impatient to get, as soon as we could, into a Christian Country, and to be present at Divine Service, which for a very long time we had not been. We were all cloathed in Buck-skins died black; and so soon as we entred the Town, we went streight to the Church to offer up our Prayers to God, and most humbly to thank him for the Miracles he had wrought in saving us. The Burghers who were informed by the *Indians* of our arrival, came to the Church, from whence they took home with them such of us as they could know,

or who belonged to their Relations or Friends. The Governour of the place offered his House to *Moscoso*, and ordered the other *Spaniards* to be quartered by sixes, or even more, according to the convenience of the Inhabitants, who kindly entertained their Guests with Pullets and Bread of *Maes*, and the fruits of the Country, which are the same that are in the Isle of *Cuba*. The Town of *Panico* contains about threescore and ten Families: their Houses for most part are built of Stone and Lime, except some few that are only wooden, and they are all thatched. The Country is not Rich, because it produces neither Gold nor Silver; but, on the other hand, the Inhabitants have plenty of all that is necessary for life. The wealthiest have not above five hundred Crowns of yearly Rent; and their Revenue consists in Cotton, Poultry, and *Maes*, which the *Indians* who are their Vassals, pay them as quit-Rent. We were in all three hundred and eleven Gentlemen and Souldiers, remaining of above six hundred who followed *Soto* into *Florida*, when we entered this Town. The Governour of the place forthwith dispatched a Burgher to give advice to Don *Antonio de Mendosa* Viceroy of *Mexico*, that three hundred men of the Forces that had been with Don *Fernando de Soto* for the Discovery and Conquest of *Florida*, were arrived at *Panico*, to the end he might give orders for their subsistence, as being in the Emperours Service.

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The Viceroy and all the Inhabitants of *Mexico*, were extremely surprized at the news; for all gave us over for lost so soon as we advanced up into the Country of *Florida*; and they lookt upon it as a Miracle, that having no place of retreat, nor no assistance sent us, we could have maintained our selves so long amongst these Infidels. So soon as the Viceroy received the advice, he sent Orders in writing, to furnish us in all places we past through, with Provisions, and *Indian* Servants; and if they refused to supply us accordingly, he gave us leave by the same Order to take by force, without any danger of punishment: But we needed it not; for all the way we went, the people came out and met us, striving who should first present us with Pullets and other Provisions.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the civil and generous manner how we were treated by the Viceroy, and the Inhabitants of Mexico.

IT is reckoned threescore Leagues from *Panico* to the great City of *Mestitam*, or *Mexico*; and it is as far from that City to the Port of *Veracrucce*, which is also threescore Leagues from *Panico*. *Veracrucce* is the Port where they take shipping to go from *Mexico* to *Spain*, and where they land when they come from *Spain* to *Mexico*; and these three Towns make a Triangle, *Veracrucce* being the South-Angle, *Panico* the East, and *Mexico* the West. This Country is so populous, that the most remote Villages of the *Indians*, are not a League and a half distant one from the other. Some of our Souldiers who were most spent, abode a month in *Panico*, others a fortnight; and, in a word, as long as they had a mind, their Landlords not grudging it in the least: On the contrary, they shared with them what they had; and all, without exception, seemed troubled at their departure. The truth is, what they gave cost them but little, since their *Indians* furnish them with more Provisions than they

they can well spend ; and they took extraordinary pleasure to hear the relation of our Adventures. The Governour gave of the Goods in his hands belonging to the Emperour for his dues, to those who would accept of them. They were very happy men who had reserved a Coat of Mail, for they trucked it for a Horse ; so some were mounted, but the greatest part performed the journey to *Mexico* on foot. The *Indians* in all places received us very kindly, and did us all sorts of good Offices, offering the Souldiers whatever they had in their houses, though they had no want of Provisions ; for when one asked a Pullet of an *Indian*, he was sure to bring four ; and if one seem'd to have a mind to a fruit which was not to be found but at a Leagues distance, immediately he ran to fetch it. When the Souldiers came to any *Indian* Town, the *Cacique* presently commanded an *Indian* who carried in his hand a Verge or Mace, to see that Provisions were furnished. They call that Officer, *Tapile* ; that's to say, *Serjeant*. He took care also to provide us *Indians* for carrying the sick, and our small Baggage. The Viceroy sent a *Portuguese* to meet us twenty Leagues from *Mexico*, with Sugar, Rasins of the Sun, Pomgranates, and other refreshments for the sick who might stand in need of them : And he acquainted us that he would cloath all the Souldiers at the Emperours charges. The Citizens of *Mexico* came to re-

ceive us without the City-Gates, and desired it as a great favour of the Souldiers that they would lodge with them, and they who prevailed carried them home to their houses, where they treated and cloathed them so well, that the Apparel of him that was worst cloathed, was worth thirty Crowns at least. The *Viceroy* had the same care of those whom he entertained in his Palace, where they of the better quality eat at his Table. He had another Table for the private Souldiers, where all were welcome, but though he had informed himself of their several qualities, that he might shew them honour accordingly, yet seeing he denyed not his Table to any of the Conquerours whether Gentleman or Peasant, it sometimes happened, that the Servant late cheek by joule with his Master. However, that little disorder proceeded only from his Officers fault, of whom some though, that knew their duty better, informed themselves of the qualities of persons, and treated them with distinction. In a word, all strove who should entertain us best, and that in so gentile and obliging a manner, that they prayed the Souldiers to make no ceremony to take what they offered them, saying that they themselves had been in the like straights, that others had assisted them, and in fine, that it was the custom of the Countrey. God Almighty reward them for it, and may it please him to give grace to those who have been preserved by his good-

goodness in that discovery, to spend the rest of their days in his holy service, and that of his infinite mercy he would vouchsafe, to receive into glory those who have ended their days in that enterprise, and those who believe in him, and confess his holy Faith.

CHAP. XLIV.

Of some Singularities of Florida, of Fruits, Fowl, and Beasts, which that Countrey produces.

FROM the Port of the *Holy Ghost*, where the *Spaniards* landed when they entred into *Florida*, to the Province of *Ocute* it is reckoned about four hundred Leagues all in a flat Countrey full of Lakes and thick Woods, excepting in some places where the ground is light, and produces wild Pine-trees; and in all that way, there is neither Mountain nor Hill to be seen. The Land of *Ocute* is fatter and more fertile, the Woods are not so thick there, and it has Meadows watered with little Rivers. It is a hundred and thirty Leagues from *Ocute* to *Cutifachiqui*, of which fourscore are through a desert Countrey, that yields nothing but wild Pines, and yet has great Rivers running through it. But from *Cutifachiqui* to
Xuala

Xuala there is nothing but Mountains, for the space of two hundred and fifty Leagues. These two Towns are seated in a high Countrey, but, level, and cut by Rivulets which have Meadows on the banks. Beyond *Xuala* are the Provinces of *Chiaba*, *Cosa*, and *Talise*, which are lovely Plains of a dry ground, that produce *Maes* in plenty. From *Xuala* to *Tascaluca* it may be two hundred and fifty Leagues, and three hundred from *Tascaluca* to the great River. That Countrey is low, full of Lakes and Swamps, but the soil is of another nature beyond the great River. It is pretty high, yet there is champion ground in it, and is the most populous Countrey in all *Florida*. On the sides of the great River from *Aquixo* to *Pacaha* and *Coligoa*, for the space of an hundred and fifty Leagues, the Countrey is plain, and in some places very fertile and pleasant. From *Coligoa* to *Autiamque* it is reckoned two hundred and fifty Leagues, in a Mountainous Countrey, and from *Autiamque* to *Guacay* two hundred and thirty of a level Countrey; but the Mountains begin again from *Guacay* to *Daycao*, that are an hundred and twenty Leagues distant. The way from the *Holy Ghost* to *Palache* is from East to West, and North West; from *Cutifachiqui* to *Xuala* from South to North, from *Xuala* to *Cosa* from East to West, and from *Cosa* to *Tascaluca*, and from thence to the great River and the Provinces of *Quirquiz*, and *Aquixo* from East to West.

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In short, *Pacaba* is Northward from *Aquixó*, *Tula* West of *Pacaba*, and *Antiamque* to the South of *Tula*, so as are the Provinces of *Gua-choya* and *Aycao*. The bread they eat all over *Florida* is made of *Maes*, which resembles great Millet, and the same *Maes* serves for food in the *Antilles*, and in all the *Indies* belonging to the Crown of *Castille*. In *Florida* there are also Nuts, Plums, Mulberries, and Grapes; every one labours his field of *Maes* apart, but all the other Fruits are common, because they grow in the fields in great plenty, without any necessity of cultivating or watering the Trees. The Mountains yield Chestnuts, which are smaller than those of *Spain*. From the great River Westwards the Nuts differ from those of the other Provinces, for they are soft and shaped like an Akorn, and from the same River to the Port of the *Holy Ghost*, they are harder and the Trees as well as Fruit resemble those of *Spain*. All over *Florida* there is a Fruit which grows upon a kind of Plant like to a Lilly which the *Indians* sow. That Fruit resembles a *bon Chreteen* Pear of an excellent relish. There is also another Herb which bears its Fruit near the ground as the Apple of Love, and is very good. The Plums are of two colours, the one red, and the other a dark gray of the bigness and shape of Walnuts. They have three or four stones, and of these last excellent Prunes are made, which in goodness surpass those of *Spain*. The Vines

220 *A Relation of the Invasion, &c.*

Vines want onely care and dressing; which may be easily known, because the Grapes have very great and hard stones, nevertheless they are very good. In a word, all the Fruits are better and less hurtful than those of *Spain*. That Country breeds a great many Bears and Lions, Wolves, Stags, Wild cats, Tame cats, and Rabbits. The Poultry are wild there, as big as Peacocks, and very plentiful. The Partridges are small like those of *Africa*; and you have also Cranes, Geese, Turtles, Field-fares, Sparrows, and other black birds that are bigger than Sparrows, and less than Starlings: as also Goss-hawks, Falcons, Sparrow-hawks, and all other Birds of Prey that are to be found in *Spain*. The *Indians* in general are well enough shaped, but those of the Plains are better limbed and much nimbler than the Mountaneers, as also the people that inhabit the heart of the Countrey, live more at their ease than those of the Coast. For the Land on the Sea-coast is barren and poor, but seeing misery renders them fierce and warlike, they rob and play the Pyrates. From the Port of the *Holy Ghost* to *Palache*, and from *Palache* to the River of *Palms*, the way is from East to West, and from the River of *Palms* to *New Spain* from North to South. That Coast is low and soft, but full of shelves and banks of sand.



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TWO
JOURNEYS

Of the present Emperour of

CHINA

INTO

TARTARY,

In the Years 1682, and 1683.

With some Discoveries

Made by the

SPANIARDS

In the Island of

California,

In the Year 1683.

London : Printed for *John Lawrence*, at the *Angel* in
the *Poultry*, over against the *Compter*. 1687.

TWO
JOURNALS

Of the present condition of

CHINA

INTO

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In the Years 1882, and 1883.

With some Discoveries

SPARDS



In the Hall of

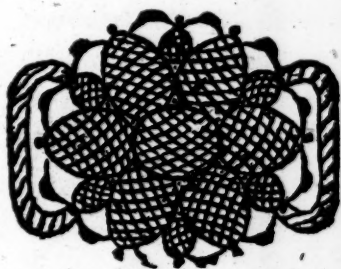
California

In the Year 1883.

London : Printed for John Lawrence, at the Angel in
the Poultry, over against the Compter. 1887.

A
JOURNEY
OF THE
Emperoz of China
INTO
EAST-TARTARY.

In the Year 1682.



L O N D O N :

Printed by Freeman Collins, for John
Lawrence, over-against the Poultry-
Compter. 1686.

JOURNAL

OF THE

EMPEROR OF CHINA



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Advertisement.

THe Reader is to take notice, That the two Expeditions of the Empe-
rour of China, were fully translated into
French from the Letters of the famous
Father Verbiest, who attended that Empe-
rour in both these Journeys; and that the
Narrative of the Spaniards late Descent
on the Island of Califurnia, was likewise
translated into French from a Spanish Re-
lation, taken from the Letters of the Admi-
ral himself, who was the chief Commander
in that Enterprize: All which three are
Dedicated to the French King.

A Journey into
East = Tartary.

In the Year 1682.

IN the beginning of the year 1682, the Emperour of *China* made a progress into *East-Tartary*, when by the death of three Rebel-Kings he had quieted a Revolt that had broken out in some Provinces of the Empire: One of these revolted Princes was strangled in the Province he had made himself Master of; the second being brought to *Pekin* with the Ringleaders of the Faction, was cut in pieces in view of the whole Court, the most considerable *Mandariuns* themselves lending a hand to this sad Execution, that upon that Rebel they might revenge the death of their Relations whom he had cruelly put to death.

The third who was the most considerable, and, in a manner, head of the Conspiracy, by a voluntary death prevented the punishment which he had deserved; and by that means put an end to a War of seven years continuance. Peace being thus restored to the Empire, and all the Provin-

ces quietly enjoying their ancient liberty, on the Twenty third of *March* the Emperour set out upon his Journey to the Province of *Leaotum*, the Country of his Ancestors, with design to visit their Sepulchres, and having honoured them with the accustomed Ceremonies, to continue his progress into *East-Tartary*. From *Pekin* to the end of the journey, that progress was about eleven hundred miles in length.

The Emperour took with him his eldest Son, a young Prince of ten years of Age, who is already declared Heir of the Empire: The three chief Queens accompanied him also, every one of them in a gilt Chariot, as likewise the principal Kings who compose that Empire, with all the great men of Court, and the most considerable *Mandarins* of all the Orders; who having a numerous Retinue and splendid Equipage, made in all an Attendance for the Emperour of above threescore and ten thousand Souls.

It was his pleasure that I should wait upon him in this progress, and be always by him, that I might in his presence make the necessary Observations for knowing the Disposition of the Heavens, the Elevation of the Pole, the Declination of each Country; and for measuring with Mathematical Instruments the height of Mountains, and the distance of places. He was willing also to be instructed about the nature of Meteors, and many other Natural and Mathematical matters;

Q

where

wherefore he gave orders to an Officer, that all the Instruments I might have occasion for, should be carried with us upon horses, and recommended me to the Prince his Uncle, who is also his Father-in-Law, and the second Person of the State; he is called by a *Chinese* Name, which signifies an *Associate in the Empire*. He charged him to supply me with all things necessary for the Journey; which that Prince did with singular goodness, making me always lodge in his Tent, and eat at his Table.

The Emperour ordered me ten horses out of his own Stables, that I might change more easily when occasion required; and amongst those there were some that he himself had rid, which is a very great distinction and honour. On our Journey we marched always North-East.

The way from *Pekin* to the Province of *Leaotum*, which is about three hundred miles in length, is pretty even and level; within the Province of *Leaotum* it continues four hundred miles, but much more unequal because of Mountains: From the Frontiers of that Province to the Town of *Ula*, or the River which the *Tartars* call *Songoro*, and the *Chinese* *Sum-hoa*, the way for four hundred miles more, is very rugged, being intercepted in some places by very craggy Mountains, and in others by Valleys of an extraordinary depth, and desert places where one may march two or three days and nothing to be found. The Mountains

tains of that Country on the East-side are covered with great Oaks, and ancient Forrests which have not been cut for many Ages.

All the Country beyond the Province of *Leaotum* is very desart, nothing being to be seen on all hands, but Mountains, Valleys, Dens of Tygers, Bears, and other wild Beasts: Hardly any houses are to be found there, but onely some sorry thatched Cottages upon the sides of Rivers and Torrents. All the Towns and Villages which I saw in *Leaotum*, and which are pretty numerous, are entirely ruined. There is nothing to be seen every-where but old demolished houses, with heaps of Brick and Stone: some houses have been lately built within the old Precinct of these Towns, but without any order: some are of Earth, and others of the rubbish of the ancient Buildings, most covered with straw, and but very few with tile. Of a great many Towns and Villages that were in being before the War, there is not now the least sign remaining; for the little King of the *Tartars* who began it, having but a very small Army at first, armed the Inhabitants of those places, and then destroyed them, that his Souldiers might have no hopes left of ever returning again into their Country.

The chief City of *Leaotum*, which is called *Xin-yam*, is a Town handsome enough, and pretty entire: there is still in it the remains of an ancient Palace. What I could find after several

observations, it lies in forty one degrees fifty six minutes ; that is, two degrees higher than *Pekin*, though hitherto neither *Europeans* nor *Chinese* have assigned it but forty one degrees. There is no declination of the Load-stone in that Town, as I remarked by many reiterated observations. The Town of *Ula*, which was almost the period of our Journey, lies in forty four degrees twenty minutes. The Compass declines there from South to West a degree and forty minutes.

But let us return again to our progress. From *Pekin* to that extreimity of the East, a new way was made for the convenience of the Emperours travelling on horseback, and the Queens in their Chariots. The way is about ten foot broad, and as streight and level as possibly it could be made, reaching in length above a thousand miles : On each side there was raised a Bank a foot high, always even, and exactly parallel to each other ; and that way was as clean, especially in fair weather, as a Barn-floor, there being men placed all along the Rode, who had no other business but to keep it clean. Christians are not so careful to sweep the streets and publick places, through which the Holy Sacrament is to pass in Procession, as these Infidels are to clean the way by which their Kings and Queens are to go, as often as they came abroad out of their Palaces.

For our return a way was made like the former ; Mountains were levelled as much as was possible

possible, Bridges cast over Torrents, and for ornament they were hung on each side with a kind of Mats, painted with divers figures of Animals, which wrought the same effect as the Tapistry with which the streets are adorned in time of Processions.

The Emperour hardly ever kept that Highway, spending his time for most part a Hunting: And even when he came up with the Queens, he kept along the side of it onely, lest the great number of horses that followed him might spoil it. He marched most commonly at the head of that kind of Army; the Queens followed immediately after in their Chariots, with their Train and Equipage, but at some little distance from him. Next marched the Kings, the great Men of Court, and the *Mandarius*, all according to their several Ranks and Qualities. An infinite number of Servants and others on horseback brought up the Reer.

Seeing there was no Town upon all the Rode capable of lodging so great a multitude of people, or supplying them with Provisions; and that, besides, a great part of the Journey was to be made through uninhabited places, there was a necessity of having all things for the Journey, nay, and three months Provisions carried along with us.

And therefore an infinite number of Waggons, Camels, Horses, and Mules, for carrying the

Baggage, were sent before by ways made on the sides of the Emperours Rode; besides, the Emperour, the Kings, and generally all the great Men of the Court, had a vast number of led-Horses following them, that they might change as occasion served; not to reckon the herds of Oxen, flocks of Sheep, and other Cattel that must needs go along with us. And though that vast number of men, horses, and flocks, kept a way pretty distant from the Emperours Rode, yet they raised such a terrible dust, that we seemed to march in a Cloud, and had much ado to discern those that were fifteen or twenty steps before us.

Our march was so well ordered, that this Army encamped every Evening upon the side of some River or Brook: and therefore the Tents and necessary Baggage were sent before early in the morning; and the Quarter-Masters being first at the place, marked out the fittest ground for the Tents of the Emperour, Queens, Kings, great Men of the Court, and *Mandarius*, according to their several Qualities and the Rank they hold in the *Chinese* Militia, which is divided into eight Orders, or Standards.

In three months time we made about a thousand miles North-Eastward, and as much more on our return. At length we arrived at *Kam-hay*, which is a Fort situated betwixt the South-Sea and the Mountains of the North. There it is that that famous Wall begins which divides the
Pro-

Province of *Leaotum* from that of *Pekeli*, from whence it reacheth a vast way Northwards over the highest Mountains. When we entred that Province, the Emperour, the Kings, and great Men of the Court, left the high-way we mentioned, and pass'd along the Mountains of the North, which without interruption run North-East: we spent somedays there a Hunting, which was in this manner:

The Emperour chose out three thousand of his Life-guard, armed with Arrows and Javelins; Those he dispersed several ways, so that they took up a great compass of ground about the Hills, which they environed on all hands: This made a kind of circle three thousand paces diameter; then drawing nearer and nearer together in a regular march, without leaving their Rank what impediment soever they found in their way, (for the Emperour had put Captains and some Grantees also among them to make them keep their order) they brought that great circumference into a circle of far less compass, which had about three hundred paces in diameter; so that all the Beasts who were enclosed within the former, were caught in this as in a Toyl; because all alighting, they joyned so close together, that they left no space for them to get out at. Then were they so hotly pursued within that narrow compass, that the poor Creatures, quite spent with running, fell down at the Huntsmens feet, and were taken up

without any trouble. In this manner I saw two or three hundred Hairs taken in less than a days time, besides a great many Wolves and Foxes. I have seen the same thing several times in that part of *Tartary* which is beyond the Province of *Leapotum*, where at one time I remember I saw above a thousand head of Deer, enclosed within such Toils, which came and cast themselves into the Huntsmens hands, finding no way to make their escape. We killed also Bears, wild Boars, and above sixty Tygers; but for killing of them they take another course, and make use of other Weapons.

It was the Emperours pleasure that I should be present at all these different ways of Hunting; and he recommended it to his Father-in-Law in a very obliging manner, that he should have a special care of me, and see that I were not exposed to any danger in the hunting of Tygers and other fierce Beasts. Of all the *Mandarius* I was the onely person near the Emperour without Arms. Though I had been enured to fatigue from the time we set out upon our progress, yet I was so weary every Evening when I returned to my Tent, that I had much ado to stand upon my legs; and many times I would have spared my self the labour of following the Emperour, if my friends had not advised me the contrary, and if I had not been afraid he would have taken it ill, if he had perceived it.

After

After about four hundred miles of continua Hunting in this manner, we arrived at length at *Xyn-yam*, the Capital City of the Province, where we staid four days. The Inhabitants of *Coree* came and presented the Emperour with a Seal or Sea-calf which they had taken; the Emperour shew'd it me, and asked me if that Fish was mentioned in our Books of *Europe*; I told him that we had a Book in our Library at *Pekin* which explain'd the Nature, and had a Cut of it. He said he would be glad to see it; and immediately dispatched a Courier to our Fathers at *Pekin*, who within a few days brought it to me. The Emperour was pleased to see that what was observed concerning that Fish in the Book, agreed with what he saw. He ordered it afterwards to be carried to *Pekin*, to be carefully preserved there.

During our stay in that City, the Emperour with the Queens went to visit the Tombs of his Ancestors, which are not far distant, from whence he sent them back to *Xyn-yam*, that he might continue his Journey towards *East-Tartary*.

After several days marching and hunting, he came to *Kirin*, four hundred miles distant from *Xyn-yam*: That Town lies along the great River *Songoro*, which has its source in *Mount-Champé*, distant from thence four hundred miles towards the South. That Mountain, so famous in the East for having been the ancient Habitation of our *Tartars*, is always covered with Snow,
from

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from whence it hath taken its Name ; for *Champé* signifies the White Mountain.

So soon as the Emperour perceived it , he alighted from his horse , kneeled down on the River-side, and bowed three times to the ground to salute it ; then he gave orders that he should be carried on a Throne glittering with Gold, and in that manner made his entry into the Town. All the people flocked out to meet him, shewing by their tears the joy they had to see him : And that Prince was extreamly pleased with the testimonies of their Affection ; and as a mark of his good-will, he shew'd himself publickly to all, and discharged his Guards from hindring the people to come near him, as they do at *Pekin*.

In this Town they build Barks of a singular shape, and the Inhabitants have a great many always in a readiness, to beat off the *Muscovites*, who come often upon that River to contend with them about the Pearl-fishing. The Emperour rested two days there, and then went down the River with some Lords, accompanied with above an hundred Boats, as far as the Town of *Ula*, which is the fairest of all the Country, and was heretofore the Seat of the Empire of the *Tartars*.

A little below that Town, which is above thirty miles from *Kirin*, the River is full of a certain kind of Fish which looks much like the Plaice of *Europe* ; and it was chiefly to divert himself at
Fishing

Fishing that the Emperour went to *Ula*; but the Rains falling all of a sudden, so swelled the River, that all the Nets were broken and carried away by the flood: Nevertheless, the Emperour tarried five or six days at *Ula*; but finding that the Rains continued, he was obliged to come back to *Kirin*, without the pleasure of Fishing. As we were returning up the River, the Bark wherein I was with the Emperours Father-in-Law, was so beaten with the waves, that we were forced to go ashoar, and to get into a Cart drawn by an Ox, which brought us very late to *Kirin*, the Rain continuing all the way.

At night when they were discoursing with the Emperour about that Adventure, he said laughing, *The Fish have made fools of us.* At length, after two days stay at *Kirin*, the Rains began to abate, and we returned to *Leaotum*. I cannot here express the trouble and fatigues we endured throughout this whole Journey, in ways broken and made almost impassable by the Rains: we went continually over hills and dales, and with extream danger crossed the Brooks and Rivers, which were much out by the Torrents that run into them from all parts. The Bridges were either broken down by the violence of the Currents, or covered all over with the overflowing of the waters. There were in many places great plashe of water gathered together, and such deep dirt, that it was hardly possible to get out of it:

The

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The Camels, Horses, and other Beasts that carried the Baggage could not get forward ; they stuck in the mires, or died of weakness upon the Rode : The men fared no better ; and all pined away for want of victuals and necessary refreshments for so long a Journey. A great many horse-men were forced either to alight and drag their horses on by the bridles, or to stop and rest them a little in the open fields. Though the Quarter-Masters and their Officers spared neither work-men nor wood, which they cut down every-where, to fill up the broken places of the way with faggots ; nevertheless, when the Horses and Waggonsthat set out very early in the morning had once passed them, it was impossible to pass after them ; the Emperour himself, his Son, and all the Lords of the Court, were oftner than once forced to cross over mires and fens on foot, fearing they might be exposed to greater danger, if they attempted to pass them on horseback.

When we met with Bridges, or any narrow passes, all the Army made a halt ; and so soon as the Emperour with some of the most considerable was over, the rest came crowding on ; and every one striving to be first, several tumbled into the water ; others going about by more dangerous ways, fell into bogs and quagmires, where they stuck. In fine, they suffered so much in all the ways of *East-Tartary*, that old Officers who for above thirty years had followed the Court, said that

that they had never endured so much hardship in any Expedition.

On these occasions the Emperour oftner than once gave me proofs of a very singular goodwill.

The first day we set out upon our return, we were towards evening stopt by so large and rapid a Torrent, that it was impossible to foard it over.

The Emperour finding there by chance a little Boat, which could not hold above four, went over first with his Son, and some of the chief Kings followed next; all the other Princes, Lords, and *Mandarius*, with the rest of the Army, waited impatiently in the mean time on the bank for the return of the Boat, that they might get over as soon as they could to the other side of the water, because night was drawing on, and the Tents were already over long before. But the Emperour coming back to us in just such another little Boat as the other, asked aloud where I was, and his Father-in-Law, having presented me to him: *Let him come in*, said the Emperour, *and go over with us*. So that we onely passed over with the Emperour; and all the rest continued on the other side, where it behoved them to spend the night in the open Air. The same thing happened next day, and almost in the same manner: The Emperour about noon came to a River as high and rapid as the former; he ordered the
Tents

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Tents and Baggage to be carried over in Boats, which took up the time till night, and made me alone to pass over with him and a few of his Retinue, leaving all the great Lords on the other side, who were obliged to spend the night there. The Emperours own Father-in-Law having asked him if he should not pass over with me, seeing I lodged in his Tent, and eat at his Table; he made him answer, that he should stay, and that he himself would take care that I should have what was fitting.

When we were over, the Emperour sat down by the water-side, and made me sit down by him, with the two Sons of two little Western Kings, and the chief *Colaos* of *Tartary*, whom he honoured on all occasions.

The night being clear, and the sky very serene, he would have me name to him both in the *Chinese* and *European* Language, all the Constellations that at that time appeared above the Horizon; and he himself named first all those which he knew already; then unfolding a little Map of the Heavens, which some years before I had presented him with, he fell a searching for the hour of the night by the Star of the *Meridian*; delighting to shew to all the skill he had in those Sciences. All these and the like favours which he shew'd me often enough, insomuch as to send me dishes of meat from his own Table, were so publick and extraordinary, that the Emperour's

two Uncles, who bore the Title of *Associates in the Empire*, said upon their return to *Pekin*, that when the Emperour was out of humour, or appeared melancholick, he resumed his usual cheerfulness so soon as he saw me.

I arrived in good health at *Pekin* the Ninth of *June* very late, though many were left sick upon the Road, or came back from the Journey wounded and maimed.

I say nothing of what we have done for Religion in this Journey; I reserve the particulars of that for a Relation apart, wherein it will be seen that by the Grace of our Lord, our favour at the Court of *China* produces considerable fruit to the Church, and deprives not the Emissaries of their Crosses.

I will subjoyn here the *Tartarean* Names, and the distance of the several places, through which we passed in *East Tartary*, from the Capital City of the Province of *Leaotum* to *Kirin*, in order, according to the days we spent in that march: This may be reduced into a Typographical Map, and inserted in the Map of the Province of *Leaotum*, which is to be found in the *Atlas* of Father *Martin Marini*, changing therein onely the Latitudes, according to the Elevations of the Pole, which we have taken notice of before. I'll add one thing more which I learned from the very Inhabitants of *Ula*; to wit, that *Nincrita*, which is a place of considerable note in those Quarters, is distant from

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from *Ula* 700 *Chinese* furlongs, each containing 360 Geometrical paces; and that embarking at *Nincrita* upon the great River *Helum*, into which the *Songoro* and some other more considerable Rivers than it, discharges themselves, following the Current of the water, and going North-East, or a little more towards the North, in forty days time one will arrive at the East-Sea, which is, as I conceive, the Streights of *Anian*. This I had from the Generals own mouth, who is at *Kirin*, and who hath made the Voyage himself.

*Johnstone in his Book of wonders
says if there has been Indian Canoes
with Indians in them that never
heard of Quina in a River that
runs from China to Russia*

*And if this be not the River
Quina who runs towards
China: & where end if not yet known*

The

*The distances of the places through which we passed
in East-Tartary.*

THe first day we parted from *Xyn-yam*, the chief Town of the Province of *Leaotum*, and arrived at *Seao-lysto*, for so that place is called in the *Chinese* Language, 95 *Chinese* furlongs.

The second day we arrived at *Chacay Angha*, 85 furlongs.

The third day at another River of the same name, 70 furlongs.

The fourth at *Kiaghuchen*, 50 furlongs.

The fifth at *Feyteri*, 80 furlongs.

The sixth at the Brook of *Seipery*, 60 furlongs.

The seventh at the Brook of *Ciam*, 60 furlongs.

The eighth at *Courou*, 50 furlongs.

The ninth at the Village of *Sape*, 40 furlongs.

The tenth at *Quaranni Pyra*, 40 furlongs.

The eleventh at *Elten Eme ambayaga*, 70 furlongs.

The twelfth at *Ipatan*, 58 furlongs.

The thirteenth at *Suayeny Pyra*, 60 furlongs.

The fourteenth at *Ilmen*, 70 furlongs.

The fifteenth at *Seuten*, 70 furlongs.

The sixteenth at the City of *Kirin*, 70 furlongs.

That way makes in all 1028 *Chinese* furlongs, which are 369 miles, allowing 1000 Geometrical paces to the mile. I have already told you that a *Chinese* furlong consists of 360 Geometrical paces.

A Journey of the
Emperour of CHINA
INTO
WEST-TARTARY.

In the Year 1683.

THis year the Emperour of *China*, being in the Thirteenth year of his Reign, made a Journey into *West-Tartary*, with the Queen his Grand-mother, who goes by the name of the Queen-Mother. He set out the Sixth of *July*, accompanied with above three-score thousand men, and a hundred thousand horse. He would needs have me go along with him, and one of the two Fathers who are at the Court of *Pekin*, of whom he left the choice to me: I pitched upon Father *Philip Grimaldi*, because he is best known, and perfectly well skill'd in the Mathematicks.

The Emperour undertook that progress for several reasons: the first was to keep his Forces in continual Exercise, as well in time of Peace as War; and therefore having settled a firm Peace in all the parts of that vast Empire, he recalled out of the several Provinces his best Troops hither; and hath resolved in Council, every three years to make

make Expeditions of this nature in several seasons; to teach them by pursuing Stags, wild Boars, Bears, and Tygers, to overcome the Enemies of the Empire, or at least to hinder that the Luxury of *China*, and too much repose, may not soften their Courage, and make them degenerate from their Primitive Valour.

The truth is, these ways of Hunting look liker a Military Expedition than a Pastime; for as I have already observed, the Emperour had in his Retinue an hundred thousand horse, and above threescore thousand men, all armed with Arrows and Cymiters, divided into Companies, and marching after their Colours in order of Battel, with beat of Drums and sound of Trumpets. Whilst they hunted they invested whole Mountains and Forrests, as if they had been Towns they were about to besiege, in that imitating the huntings of the Eastern *Tartarians*, which I mentioned in my last Letter. That Army had its Van, its Reer, and Main Body, its Right and Left Wings Commanded by so many General Officers and little Kings. There was a necessity during the space of above threescore and ten days they were upon the march, that Provisions and Ammunition should be carried about for them in Waggon, upon Camels, Horses, and Mules, in very rough and difficult ways; for in all *West-Tartary* (I call it Western, not with reference to *China*, which lies Westward of it) but with relation to *East-Tarta-*

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ry) there is nothing to be found but Rocks and Mountains, Hills and Dales. There are neither Towns nor Villages, nor indeed any houses there; the Inhabitants lodge in Tents pitched here and there in the fields. They are for most part Herdsmen, and remove their Tents from one Valley to another, according as the Pastures are better or worse; there they feed Cattel, Horse, and Camels: They have no breed of Hogs, nor of any of those other Creatures which in other places are bred in Towns and Villages, as Pullets and Geese; but onely of such as an uncultivated Land can feed with the Herbs that grow naturally of themselves. They spend their time either in Hunting, or else in doing nothing at all; and as they neither sow nor labour the Land, so they have no crop, but live on Milk, Cheese, and Flesh, and have a kind of Liquor not unlike to our Brandy, wherein they carrouze, and make themselves often drunk. In a word, from morning till night all their care is to eat and drink, like the Beasts and Herds they keep.

They have nevertheless their Priests, whom they call *Lamas*, for whom they have a singular veneration; wherein they differ from the *East-Tartars*, who for most part have no Religion, nor believe at all in any God. In short, both the one and the others are slaves, and in all things depend on the wills of their Masters, whose Religion and Manners they blindly embrace and follow;

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low ; like to their Beasts in that too , which go whither men lead or drive them , and not where they ought to go.

This part of *Tartary* lies beyond that prodigious Wall of *China* , about a thousand *Chinese* furlongs ; that's to say, above three hundred *European* miles , and bears from North-East to North. The Emperour marched on horseback at the head of his Army over these desert places, over craggy Mountains distant from the highway, all day long exposed to the heat of the Sun, the Rains, and all the inconveniences of the weather. Many who have been in the late Wars assured me , that they had not suffered so much during that time, as during this match of Hunting ; so that the Emperour, whose chief end was to keep his Troops in Exercise, has compleatly performed what he intended.

The second reason he had for making that Progress, was, that he might keep the Western *Tartars* in awe, and prevent the pernicious designs which they might hatch against the State.

And that made him enter their Country with so great an Army , and so great Preparatives of War, taking a Train of Artillery along with him, which he ordered now and then to be discharged in the Valleys , that by the noise and fire that broke out of the mouths of the Dragons with which they are adorned, he might spread terrour far and near upon the Rode.

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Besides all this Retinue, he would also be attended by all the marks of Grandeur which environ him at the Court of *Pekin*; by that multitude of Drums, Trumpets, Timbrels, and other Instruments of Musick, which play in Consort whilst he is at Table, and with the noise whereof he enters and comes out of his Palace: All this he did to terrifie those barbarous people by that external pomp, and to imprint in them that fear and reverence which is due to the Imperial Majesty.

For the Empire of *China* never had at any time more dreadful Enemies, than the Western *Tartars*, who beginning on the East of *China*, surround it with vast numbers of people, and block it up to the North and West. And it was against their Incurfions that a *Chinese* Emperour built that great Wall, which divides *China* from their Country. I have crossed it four times, and narrowly considered it; and without exaggeration I may say, that the seven wonders of the World put together, are not comparable to this work; and all that Fame hath published concerning it among the *Europeans*, comes far short of what I my self have seen.

I admired it particularly for two things; first, That in that long extent from East to West, it runs along not onely vast Fields, but also over most high Mountains, upon which it rises gradually, and is fortified by intervals with great
Towers;

Towers, that are not distant from one another above two Cross-bow-shot. Upon our return I had the curiosity to measure the height of it in one place by means of an Instrument, and found it in that part to be a thousand and thirty seven Geometrical foot above the Horizon; so that it is not to be conceived how such a prodigious Bulwark could be raised to that height in a dry Country and full of Mountains, where they were obliged with incredible labour to bring from a far the water, bricks, mortar, and all the necessary materials for the raising of so great a work.

The other thing that surprized me was, that this Wall is not carried on upon the same line, but turns and winds in several places according to the disposition of the Mountains; in such a manner, that instead of one Wall, it may be said there are three, which encompass all that great part of *China*.

But after all, the Monarch who in our days hath united the *Chinese* and *Tartars* under one Dominion, hath done somewhat more for the security of *China*, than that *Chinese* Emperour who built that long wall; for having reduced the Western *Tartars*, partly by cunning, and partly by force, he hath obliged them to go and live three hundred miles beyond the Wall of *China*: And at that distance he hath distributed amongst them Lands and Pasturage, giving at the same time their Country to other *Tartars* his Subjects,

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who at present inhabit it. Nevertheless, the Western *Tartars* are so powerful, that if they agreed among themselves, they might still render themselves Masters of all *China*, and *East-Tartary*, as it is confessed by the Eastern *Tartars* themselves.

I said that the *Tartarian* Monarch who conquered *China*, used Artifice for subduing the Western *Tartars*; for it was one of his chief cares by Royal Bounty and demonstrations of a singular Affection, to engage the *Lamas* into his interests. These having great Credit and Authority over the whole Nation, easily perswaded them to submit to the Government of so great a Prince; and it is in consideration of that service rendred to the State, that the present Emperour still looks upon the *Lamas* with a favourable eye, that he is liberal unto them, and makes use of them to keep the *Tartars* in due obedience; though inwardly he despises them, looking upon them as a dull and blockish sort of men, who have not the least tincture of Arts and Sciences, wherein that Prince, doubtless, shews a great deal of Wisdom and Policy in disguising so his real thoughts, by those external marks of esteem and kindness.

He hath divided that vast extent of Land into forty eight Provinces which are subject and tributary unto him. Hence it is that the Emperour who at present Reigns in *China*, and in both the *Tartaries*, may justly be called the greatest and
most

most powerful Monarch of *Asia*, having so many vast Countries under him united and not intercepted by the Lands of any forreign Prince; and he alone being as the Soul, which gives life and motion to all the Members of so great a Body.

For since he hath taken the Government upon him, he hath never entrusted the care of it to any of the *Colaos*, or the great men of his Court: nor hath he ever suffered any of the Eunuchs of the Palace, any of his Pages, or any of those young Lords that have been bred with him, to dispose of any thing within his house, or regulate any matter by themselves. This will appear very strange, especially if one consider how his Predecessours were wont to act on such occasions.

With wonderful equity he punishes the great as well as the small, he turns them out of their Places, and degrades them from their Dignity, always proportionating the punishment to the heinousness of their Crime. He himself takes cognizance of the Affairs that are handled in the Royal Council, and in the other Tribunals, requiring an exact account of the Judgments and Sentences that have been past therein. In a word, he disposes of all, and orders every thing by himself: And that absolute Authority which he hath thus taken to himself, is the cause that the greatest Lords of the Court, and those of the highest Quality in the Empire, even the Princes of the Bloud themselves, never appear in his presence,

sence, but with profound respect and reverence.

After all, the *Lamas* or *Tartarian* Priests, of whom we have been speaking, are not onely esteemed by the people, but also by the Lords and Princes of their Nation, who for politick reasons shew them a great deal of friendship; and that makes us fear that the Christian Religion will not find so easie an entry into *West-Tartary*. They have a great power also upon the Mind of the Queen-Mother, who is of their Country, and at present seventy years of age. They have often told her, that the Sect whereof she makes profession, hath none more declared Enemies than us: And it is a kind of Miracle, or at least a special protection of God, that notwithstanding this, the Emperour who hath a great deal of respect and esteem for her, hath still heaped honour and favours upon us, always considering us in another-guess manner than he does the *Lamas*.

During our progress, the Princes and chief Officers of the Army, going often to make their Court to the Queen, and we being advised to do the like also, we thought fit first to consult a Courtier that has a great kindness for us, and who speaks in our favours to the Emperour when we have any business: This Lord going into the Princes Tent, told him what passed; and immediately coming out again, said to us, *The Emperour hath given me to understand, that it is not necessary you should attend the Queen as others do.*

Which

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Which convinced us that that Princess had no kindness for us.

The third reason that engaged the Emperour into this progress, was his Health ; for he hath found by a pretty long experience, that when he stays too long at *Pekin*, he never fails to fall into some sickness, which he prevents by means of such progresses. For all the while they continue, he keeps no company with women, and, which may seem very strange, there was not a woman in all that great Army, except those who attended the Queen-Mother ; and that's a new thing too that she accompanied the King this year, the like being never practised before but once, when he took the three Queens with him to the Capital City of the Province of *Leaotum*, to visit the Sepulchres of their Ancestours.

The Emperour and Queen Mother intended also by that Journey to avoid the excessive heat that is at *Pekin* during the Dog-days ; for in that part of *Tartary*, there blows so cold a wind in the Months of *July* and *August*, especially in the night-time, that people are obliged to wear thick cloaths and furs. The reason that may be given for so extraordinary a cold, is ; that that Region lies very high, and is full of Mountains : Amongst others there is one, on which for five or six days march we were always going upwards. The Emperour being desirous to know how much it surpassed in height the

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the plains of *Pekin*, which are about three hundred miles distant from it; having upon our return measured above an hundred Mountains that are upon the Rode, we found that it was elevated three thousand Geometrical paces above the Sea that is nearest to *Pekin*.

The Salt-petre wherewith these Countries abound, may likewise contribute to that great cold, which is so violent, that digging three or four foot deep in the Earth, we found frozen clods and heaps of ice.

A great many little Kings of *West-Tartary* came with their Children from all hands, some three hundred, and some five hundred miles to salute the Emperour. These Princes who for most part know no other Language but their Mother-Tongue, which differs much from what is spoken in *East-Tartary*, with their eyes and gestures shew'd us a great deal of civility. Some amongst them had travelled to *Pekin* to see the Court, and had seen our Church there.

A day or two before we arrived at the Mountain, which was the period of our Journey, we met a little King of great age, who was coming back from the Emperour: perceiving us, he stopt with all his Retinue, and made his Interpreter ask which of us it was that was called *Nauhoait*; one of our Servants having made a sign that it was I, the Prince accosted me with much civility, and told me that of a long time he had known my
Name,

Name, and that he desired to be acquainted with me. With the same signs of affection he spake also to Father *Grimaldi*. The favourable reception we had from him at that time, gives us some grounds to hope that our Religion may find easie access to these Princes, especially if their esteem be gained by means of the Mathematicks. And if there be any design to propagate the Faith as far as their Country, the surest way to succeed for many reasons that I have not time to alleadge here, would be to begin first with other more remote *Tartars*, who are not Subjects of this Empire; from thence one might proceed to these, advancing by little and little towards *China*.

During the whole progress, the Emperour continued to express his good-will towards us by the singular favours he did us in sight of his Army, which he did not to any body else.

Meeting us one day in a great Valley, where we were taking the height and distance of some Mountains, he stopt with all the Court, and calling to us at a great distance, he asked us in the *Chinese* Language, *Hao mo?* that's to say, *Are you in health?* Afterwards he put a great many questions to us in *Tartarish*, concerning the height of these Mountains, which I answered in the same Language also. Then turning to the Lords that were about him, he spake to them of us in most obliging terms, as I was told that very evening by the Prince his Uncle, who was then by him.

He

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He hath besides expressed his kindness to us, by causing dishes to be sent from his Table to our Tent, and sometimes honouring us so far as to make us eat in his own; with that regard to our days of fasting and abstinence, that whensoever he did us that honour, he sent us onely such dishes as we could make use of.

The Emperours eldest Son, after his Fathers example, shew'd us likewise much kindness; for being forced to make a stop for above ten days, because of a fall he had from a horse, whereby he received a hurt in the right shoulder, and a part of the Army (in which we were) staying for him, whilst the Emperour with the rest continued his Hunting; he failed not all that while to send us once, nay sometimes twice a day Victuals from his Table. But to conclude, we look upon all these favours of the Royal Family, as the effects of a particular Providence, which watches over us and the Christian Interest, and for which we have so much the more reason to thank God, that the Emperours affection appears not always so constant towards the great men of the Empire, nor even towards the Princes of the Bloud.

Asto the other particulars of our Journey, they are much like to those that hapned last year in our progress to *East-Tartary*, which I described at large in my last Letter; that's to say, we were accommodated with the Emperours Horses and Litters, lodged in the Tents, and eat at the Table

of

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of the Prince his Uncle, to whom he particularly recommended us.

For above six hundred miles that we made in going and coming (for we returned not the same way we went) he caused a great way to be made over the Mountains and Valleys for the convenience of the Queen-Mother, who was carried in a Chair; he caused a great many Bridges also to be cast over Rivers and Torrents, Rocks and points of Mountains to be cut through with incredible labour and charge. Father *Grimaldi* will describe the other circumstances in his Letter.

I have spoken elsewhere of the fruit that Religion may reap from our Journey. Let it suffice in this place to say, that the Emperour, whose will and pleasure we cannot in the least resist, without exposing this mission to manifest danger, commanded us to follow him; I have nevertheless spoken twice to that Court-Lord who is our particular friend, that he might get us excused from such long Journeys, and especially my self, who am not now of an Age fit for them. I have endeavoured to obtain at least that the Emperour would be satisfied with one of us. Upon the Road the Letters of our Fathers came always safe to my hands, and I had the convenience of writing to them by the Couriers that went continually to the Royal City, or came from thence. I wrote this in haste, that I may persist in giving you an account of our Occupations.

An

An necessary Explication for justifying the Geography which is supposed in these LETTERS.

IT may be thought strange, that the Author of these Letters makes mention in the first of a kind of War betwixt the Eastern Tartars, and the Muscovites, considering the vast distance that seems to be betwixt these people in the Geographical Maps; but they who know how far the Muscovites have enlarged the bounds of their Empire along the Sea of Tartary, will judge the thing to be less difficult: Besides, those who have seen these Countries, have made discoveries far different from what our Geographers have hitherto informed us of. Very lately Monsieur d'Arcy, who Commands a Kings Ship

Ship in the Marechal d'Estrees Fleet, told us, That serving in Poland, and having been made Governour of a place towards Muscovie, some Muscovite Ambassadors passed that way upon their return, and that he having entertained them so as to put them into a good humour, one of them shew'd him a new Map of the Countries that lie betwixt Muscovie and China, and told him, that from three Towns which he shewed him, whose Names were Lopla, Abasinko, Nerginsco, all three under the Dominion of the great Dukes, though lying in great Tartary, there was a way to Pekin, not above five and twenty or thirty days Journey. That Map must needs be kept very private in Muscovie, for next day the Muscovite was mad with himself for having given it him, saying, that he would pay dear for it if it came to be known. The Officer being since come back into France, hath given a

Copy of it to the King, and another to the Marquess of Seignelay. To confirm this, we may add what a French-man wrote two months ago from Muscovie, that they were actually raising Forces there for making War against the Chinese.

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~~and it being given~~

A
NEW DESCENT
 OF THE
SPANIARDS

On the Island of
Califurnia.

In the Year 1683.

THE great Island of *Califurnia* hath appeared a Conquest worthy the *Spanish* Arms, ever since *Mexico* was annexed to that Crown. Zeal for Religion, and the Salvation of the Islanders, with the hopes that those who have sailed upon these Coasts, have always given us of fishing Pearls there in abundance, have made us still desirous to extend the Empire of our Nation unto those vast and rich Countries. The famous Don *Fernando Cortez Marquess del Vallé*, was the first that conceived that design, and made the Voyage; but the fear of troubles wherewith he

he was threatned in a new-conquered Country, having recalled him to *Mexico*, stifled the hopes that all had of the success of his valour & good fortune. Many great Captains since his time have renewed that Enterprize, but it hath always been crossed by some unexpected accident ; and all that hath been got by several descents made on that Island, was onely some knowledge of the people who inhabit it, of Pearls that may be fished, and of a kind of Amber that may be found there.

The glory of succeeding in that Conquest, no less important for Religion, than advantageous for our Commerce, was reserved for our Monarch, at whose charge this last Expedition was made, from the first success whereof we have ground to expect future prosperity. The Marquess of *Laguna*, Viceroy and Captain General of *Mexico*, which we call *New-Spain*, having received orders from his Majesty to spare no cost in those Enterprizes which might give hopes of propagating the Faith amongst barbarous Nations, fitted out two men of War, with a Billander, to serve them for a Pinnace ; and having manned them well, and provided them with all sorts of Ammunition, sent them upon the Conquest under the conduct of Don *Isidore d'Atondo*, Admiral of *New-Spain*, from whose Letters this Relation hath been taken.

This little Fleet put out from the Port of *Chalaca* in *New Galicia* the 18th day of *January*, 1683. For

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For the first days the wind was contrary, so that they were forced to sail upon a wind, and by a storm were driven into the Port of *Mazatlan*, where the two ships entered the Ninth of *February*. *March* the Eighteenth they arrived at the mouth of the River of *Cinaloa*, where there is a pretty commodious Harbour, there they refreshed for some time, and then continued there course along the Coast of *Cinaloa*, to the Isles of *St. Ignatius*, where they stood away before the wind, that they might sail faster, or rather not so slowly as they had done till then. Their course was almost from East to West, and the weather so good, that in one nights sailing they came in sight of *Geralbo*, and made the Land of *California*, notwithstanding the great Currents that run in those Streights, and impetuously fall into the Pacifick Sea: but the wind changing all of a sudden, they could not come up with it till three days after. From thence they sailed North-West along the shoar; and having made eight Leagues more, they arrived at length at the entry of the famous Haven of our *Lady of Peace*. Opinions differ much about the scituation of that Port: the ordinary Maps place it in 24 degrees; some put it in 27, and others betwixt the 25 and 26 degree. The Sea Cart of Capt. *Francis de Lureville*, which puts it in the 24 degree, in that agrees with those of *Jonsonius*: but Father *Eusebius Francis Kino*, a Jesuite and famous Mathematician, who

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went the Voyage, saith that the mouth of that Haven lies in 24 degrees 45 minutes. This gave some cause to doubt whether or not that was the real *Haven of Peace*; and the doubt was the more confirmed, that the *Indians* whom they found in the Port, understood not one word of what the Jesuits who were on board said to them, who spake according to a Dictionary of words made by the Fathers of their Society when the *Spaniards* made the former Expeditions to the *Haven of Peace*. To which it may be added, that the ancient Relations of these Expeditions, observed that the *Indians* of that Port, were wont to come out upon floats and in *Canoes* to meet the Ships with great demonstrations of friendship, and at this time no float nor *Canoe* appeared, nor indeed for some days was there any person to be seen. The Admiral Don *Isidore d'Atondo*, who had the same doubt, thinks to satisfy it by alleadging that the *Indians*, called *Guaricures*, who according to the ancient Relations made War with those of the *Haven of Peace*, might have driven out the ancient Inhabitants, and made themselves Masters of the Country, because the Land-marks which are given that the Cape of *St. Luke* is on the point of the Isle of *Ceralbo*, prove that that Port is the ancient *Haven of Peace*: However it be, we shall call it by that Name. They entered it the Thirtieth of *March*, having first kept the Festival of *St. Joseph* for
nine

nine days. The Bay is very large, and much like to that of *Cadiz*. Next day they advanced five or six Leagues farther up, and came to an Anchor: the Admiral and Captains went ashoar in two Shalloops, and landed in a very pleasant place, full of Palm-trees, where they found a Fountain of excellent fresh water. They saw no body, but by the tracts they observed, they concluded that there were men there: They went no farther that day, but came back and lay upon the shoar.

The day following all came ashoar, and made a great Cross, which they planted upon an Eminence, to take possession of the Country in the Name of God, and of the Catholick King. They had a mind to know whether there might be some *Indians* hid in the thick woods that cover the Mountain: for that end they left some things fit for eating, as *Indian* Corn, Bisket, and other things, amongst which they mingled some Beads of a Chaplet, contenting themselves with that discovery, and so re-imbarked.

They landed upon the Third of *April*, and found the things they had left untouched in the same place. The Admiral, accompanied with a Captain and some Souldiers, went up to a little hill, from which he could discover nothing but a great Lake, and so returned to the Ship. On Sunday after Mass, they sent out upon discovery a Shalloop into a narrow passage that reaches a-

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bove three Leagues : Father *Kino* writes, that the farther end of that streight lies in 24 degrees 10 minutes. In the evening they fell a fishing, and took a great many Sea-wolves, Soles, Thornbacks, and several other fish of a prodigious bigness, whereof they made provision for three days ; but amongst these fish some they knew to be poysonous. On Munday they came ashoar again in the same place where they landed at first : they began to build a little Fort with a Church which they Dedicated to *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, because under her Auspices they had undertaken the Conquest of that Country. That precaution was not useless ; for the Admiral and some Captains advancing up to a height, discovered great smoak, which is the signal given by the *Californians* to assemble when they go out to War. The Admiral thought fit to fortifie himself, which was done with trunks of Palm-trees, amongst which instead of faggots, we mingled the bundles and knapsacks of the Souldiers, that if it was needful they might fire their Artillery, and cover themselves from the Arrows and Darts of the *Indians*. They planted three pieces of Cannon upon the Fort, which was made in form of a half-moon ; and having taken these necessary cautions, they spent the night in great security. The Souldiers going out next day to clear a little hill, and to cut Timber for the Fortifications, heard all of a sudden the terrible cries of the *Indians*, who were
coming

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coming streight to the place where the *Spaniards* were. The Allarm was sounded, and every one retreated in to the Foot. Hardly were they got into a posture of defence, when there appeared thirty five *Indians* well shaped, and armed with Bows, Arrows, and Darts ; they drew up into a half-moon, and began to make signs that the *Spaniards* should be gone and leave their Country. The Admiral and Captains made signs to them again, that they desired nothing but peace, and that they were come to make Alliance with them. They made a sign to them to lay down their Arms, and that they would do the like also ; but the *Indians* would not.

In the mean time, Father *Mathias Gogni*, and Father *Eusebius Francis Kino*, Missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who embarked in that Fleet to endeavour the Conversion of those people, advanced towards them in a fearless manner, and offered them Bisket, *Indian* Corn, Beads of Jet, and many trifles which these Barbarians look upon as very precious things. At first they would not receive them from their hands, but made them a sign to lay them down upon the ground, and that they would take them. The Jesuits did so ; they took what was presented them, and having eaten with great demonstrations of joy, they laid down their Arms, came to the Fathers, and took from their hands, and the hands of the other *Spaniards*, all they pleased to give them. They seemed

ed to be very hungry, and rubbed their belly and stomach very fast with their hand, to shew the need they had of food. Not that they wanted victuals, for they had Venision with which they entertained the *Spaniards*, and some pieces of a kind of Roast-meat which they also eat in *New-Spain*: But by what could be conjectured, having that day made a long march, it was probable they were willing to reserve their Provisions for their return, or to eat them by the Fountain which was seized by the *Spaniards*. It was observed, that the Barbarians having eaten a little of what was given them, carried the rest up to the Mountain, and then came back again, shewing by their gestures that it would be a great kindness to give them some more. May be their wives and children were in the Neighbouring woods, and that they went to share what they got with them. That day they retired not till towards night; and though the *Spaniards* were extreamly well satisfied with what had past, yet they thought they could not use too great circumspection in sight of a people whose humour and fidelity were not as yet sufficiently known. The days following were imployed in cutting of Palm-trees and other great Timber for fortifying the half-moon. Thursday the Eighth of *April* the *Spaniards* made a great fishing; and because the *Indians* appeared not that day, they suspected they might have some bad design, and that they

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they gathered together Forces to come and attack them : But next day appeared fourscore and ten *Indians* far different from the former, who gave the *Spaniards* all the testimonies of friendship that could be desired : these shew'd them a Crucifix and the Image of our Lady of *Guadalupa* ; but it was plain enough by the surprize they seemed to be in at the sight of these things , that they had never seen the like before. At night they went to lie upon the Mountain , and returned next day, shewing a great deal of familiarity and freedom ; for they mingled with the *Spaniards* without any fear, and indeed with a little too much liberty, stealing some small trifles with wonderful dexterity and slight. The Admiral perceiving that disorder , thought fit to remedy it by inspiring into them fear and respect. And this is the course he took : He caused a very thick earthen Buckler to be fastned to the bones of a Whale that were found there by chance ; and then made a sign to the Barbarians to shoot their Arrows against that Buckler. Some of the strongest did so with great dexterity, but the Arrows broke, and scarcely grazed the hair of it , which surprized them ; for their Arrows are so sharp and piercing, that they shoot all sorts of Beasts through and through. The Armiral asked them by sign , if they had a mind to see the force of the *Spanish* Arms, because they imagined, as they confessed afterwards, that the Harquebuse was a
kind

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kind of Bow, and the scowring-stick the Arrow ; and that they might know what the force of fire-Arms was, he ordered Lieutenant Don *Martin Vera-
rastigui* to shoot at the Buckler : the Lieutenant standing six paces farther off of the Buckler than they did, discharged his Harquebuse, and pierced through not onely the leather of the Buckler, but also the bone of the Whale to which it was fastned. The Barbarians in amazement drew nigh to see the shot, and asked a Bullet, in hopes they might do as much : They had a Bullet given them, which they put to the end of a Dart, and then blew with all their force, thinking that the blowing was the cause of the report which they had heard ; but so soon as they let the Bullet go, it fell at their feet. This experiment frightened them, and made that they durst not steal any thing more ; nay, if they chanced to take any thing, they gave it back so soon as they were bid. The *Spaniards* asked by sign if there was any River in the Country ; and this one of them did to make his Answer be understood : He took a Dart, and pointing it Westward, began to go at a trot, and having made a turn and a half round the Camp, he turned the point of his Dart towards the Sun, thereby signifying that there was a River distant as much way as by going at that rate one might accomplish in the space that the Sun takes to make a turn and a half round the World ; which was as much as if he had said that there was a
River

River Westward a day and a halfs Journey from the Camp. They gave then a handful of Salt, asking if they had any of it; they put some of it into their mouths, and made a sign by turning the head, that they had not. When they had done so, they put their hands upon their cheeks, and shutting their eyes, took leave of the company, intimating by that gesture, that they were going to sleep.

The Jesuits who made the Voyage for no other end but to endeavour the Conversion of those people, applied themselves presently to the learning of their Language: They most exactly remarked all the words which they understood, and immediately wrote them down that they might learn them: and Father *Kino*, who begins to understand that Tongue, affirms that it is very clear, and contains all the Letters of the Alphabet. The people are docile, affable, and of a very chearful humour; they pronounce *Spanish* very distinctly, and from the very first their Children came and play'd with the Children of the *Spaniards*, as familiarly as if they had been bred together.

There scarcely past a day but some new *Indians* came to the Camp. The *Spaniards* having kept *Holy-Thursday* with a great deal of Devotion, in the Church which they had made of the trunks of Trees, forty *Indians* different from those whom they had seen before, came to them: They made friendship with them, and gave them some trifles

trifles in recompence for some loads of Timber that they were desired to carry. They were so well satisfied with these Presents, that they all came back next day with their loads of wood upon their back, thinking thereby to please the *Spaniards*.

They are a very teachable people, take instruction quickly, pray with the Fathers, make the sign of the Cross, and clearly and distinctly repeat the Prayers which they are taught to say; for though they understand them not, yet the Name of G O D, which is contained in these Prayers, is capable of softning their hearts, and producing great effects in their Souls.

The ingenious way of expressing any thing by gestures, shews very well that they want not wit. An old man who had had five Children, took this course to make the *Spaniards* understand that he had buried one of them: he dug a hole, took a piece of wood and covered it therein with earth; endeavouring by that representation to comfort himself for the loss he had suffered. In this manner these good people converse with the *Spaniards*, and inform them of many things, which would be too long to be related here. It is not as yet known if they have any Cottages: The Admiral having commanded a Corporal and some Souldiers to march up as far as they could in the Country, to discover if there were any; and they having marched about three Leagues, went

went up to a very high place, from whence they perceived a great Lake, lovely Plains, and thick smoak at a vast distance ; but saw neither men nor houses.

The Air of this Island is very good and pleasant ; it hath great Mountains covered with wood, full of Wild-fowl, Rabbits, and Deer. The Soil seems to be very fit for all sorts of Grain ; there is already some *Indian* Corn sow'd, Melons, and other Seeds which the *Spaniards* carried with them. The Meadows and lovely Pasture-ground which they have found there, make them believe it will breed all sorts of Beasts : and therefore the Admiral sent off the best Ship to import some for breeding ; they have advice that she was arrived at *Hiaqui*, where they had taken on board all that the Admiral demanded.

Some Souldiers walking abroad at a pretty good distance from the Camp, found a Cave, wherein was a great quantity of dead mens bones, which made them conjecture they bury their dead there. They found also the marks of some Vessels, which is probable were the remains of the shipwrack that Captain *Ortega* made in that Port, in the year 1633, or 1634. They found Mineral stones there also, and Mother of Pearl, which that great Gulf is full of, if the ancient Relations may be believed ; but what wonders soever they report as to that, there have been none found as yet, and the *Indians* themselves know of no such thing

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thing. May be there are none to be found but in the Isles, which are very numerous in the middle of this Gulf, especially to the North-West. They found likewise in the same Cave, the bones of a Whale of so prodigious a bigness, that one single Jaw-bone was five ells broad. The Admiral *Don Isidore d'Atondo* impatiently expects the horses that are to be brought to him from *Hiaqui*, that he may advance farther up into the Country, and go to the other side of the Haven, and to *St. Mary Magdalene's Bay*, which is twenty Leagues from the *Haven of Peace*.

The length of this Island North-East and South-West from the Cape *St. Luke* to Cape *Mendoza*, is 1700 Leagues; its breadth East and North-West from *Sir Francis Drake's Port*, to Cape *Mendoza*, is 500 Leagues, according to the ancient Relations. However, when the Country is wholly discovered, a more certain Account may be given of it.



FINIS.

